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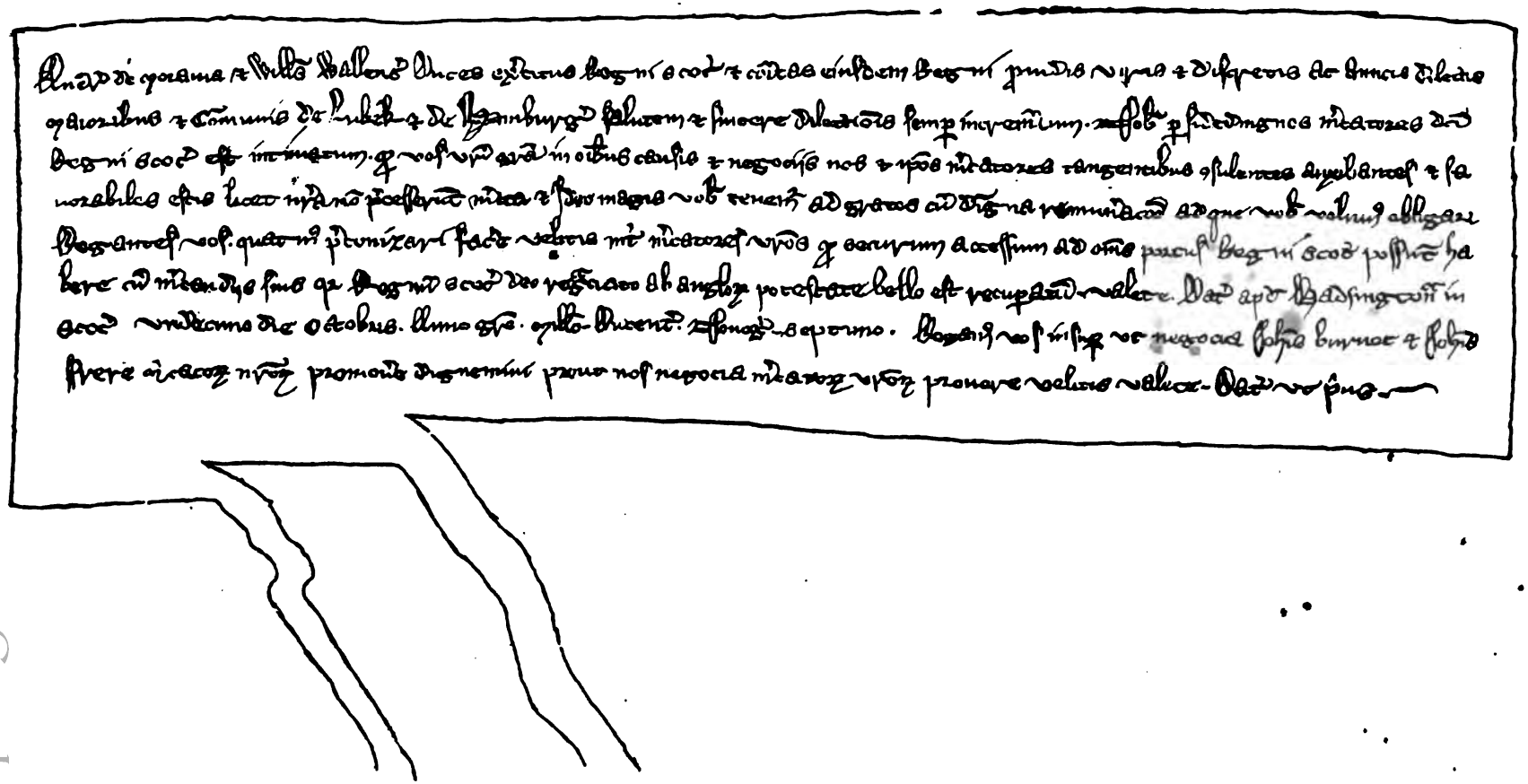
LETTER FROM ANDREW MURRAY AND SIR WILLIAM WALLACE

TO THE MERCHANTS OF LÜBECK AND HAMBURGH.



54.

DOCUMENTS

ILLUSTRATIVE OF

SIR WILLIAM WALLACE,

HIS LIFE AND TIMES.

PRINTED FOR THE MAITLAND CLUB.

M.DCCC.XLI.

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A SOUL SUPREME, IN EACH HARD CONFLICT TRIED,
ABOVE ALL PAIN, ALL PASSION, AND ALL PRIDE;
THE FROWN OF POWER, THE BLAST OF PUBLIC BREATH,
THE LOVE OF LUCRE, AND THE DREAD OF DEATH.

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INTRODUCTORY NOTICE.

If we were required to point out a period in the history of Scotland, which, for the interest of its details, and the importance of its results upon the subsequent fate of the nation, might be considered as having peculiar claims upon our notice, we should probably select that which is bounded, on the one side, by the death of King Alexander the Third, and, on the other, by the battle of Bannockburn. During the anterior period, the kingdom, though to all appearance highly cultivated, and in many respects equal to her sister kingdom of England, had not yet acquired that compactness of organization which produces individuality of design as well as unity of exertion. The reign of David, indeed, presents a picture which it might be important to examine more minutely than has hitherto been done; but the circumstances which invest it with the peculiar interest which it possesses are rather of an ecclesiastical than a political character, and, as such, do not come under our present consideration.

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Going further down the stream of history, and looking at the position of Scotland after Robert Bruce had secured her liberties by the decisive battle of Bannockburn, we find still fewer resting places. The pages of her annals are over-crowded with the details of endless negotiations, meant only to be kept so long as convenient; or with notices of petty inroads or domestic feuds. And, at a subsequent period, the investigations of her latest historian have shown that, with a very few exceptions, her nobility had ceased to possess that love for national independence for which their ancestors were so eminently distinguished.

Reverting, then, to the period which we have first mentioned, we find in it much to arrest the attention. We find a kingdom suddenly deprived of her sovereign, and, by a succession of accidents which human foresight could not have anticipated, and against which human prudence could not have guarded, resolving to adopt the dangerous expedient of electing a monarch to fill the vacant throne. We find the arbitrative power vested in the person of a neighbouring Prince, a Prince, too, no less remarkable for his personal ambition than his political wisdom. It can scarce excite our surprise to find that, under such circumstances, the attempt was made to overthrow the national independence of Scotland, and to make that kingdom an appendage to the crown of England.

Extraordinary circumstances give birth to extraordinary characters. The same exciting causes which produced a Tell in Switzerland, a Cromwell in England, and a Buonaparte in

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France, raised up a Wallace and a Bruce in Scotland. And, as the condition of society, and the general state of the times, was more peculiarly suited, when they lived, for the development of individual character, than it was when those other great names which we have mentioned appeared on the theatre of the world; so, the history of those two defenders of the liberties of their country possesses charms, arising from these circumstances, in which the others are necessarily deficient.

Without pretending for a moment to draw a contrast between the characters of Wallace and of Bruce, we may be permitted to remark that, when placed in juxtaposition, the former is the more interesting personage. His comparatively obscure origin; the difficulties which he had to overcome at home, in a state saturated with the principles of the feudal law; the means by which he acquired for himself the proud title of the Guardian of the Liberties of Scotland; his unflinching devotion to the cause in which he found himself embarked; his betrayal, trial, and death; invest his name with peculiar interest. The deficiency of authentic information respecting him yet further stimulates inquiry, and the manner in which authentic history has confessedly become mingled with traditional lore, still further conspires to make the truth worth investigating.

The present collection of documents is intended to gratify, as far as possible, the interest naturally excited by such considerations. It aims at bringing into one conspectus the more important of the notices respecting Wallace which hitherto have

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been scattered through large and expensive volumes, to present them in as satisfactory a state as the means within the reach of the editor would permit, and to add to them such other documents as have been brought to light by recent investigations in the Record Offices of London.

The volume, therefore, naturally divides itself into two distinct classes of materials, those, namely, which have always been referred to as containing information, more or less authentic; and those which, till recently, have been unknown to the historians and antiquarians of Scotland. Passing over the former, with the remark, that the source whence each is derived is pointed out in the notes appended respectively to each, the opportunity may be permitted to the editor to offer a few observations upon one document which finds no place in this volume, although professedly written to record the exploits of Wallace, namely, the poem written by Blind Harry.

The criticism which Lord Hailes passed upon that poem, now more than half a century ago, appears to have had the effect desired by his Lordship; that, namely, of condemning it as an historical document. Since that time, whoever had the hardihood to quote Blind Harry has been regarded as deficient in judgment and critical information with respect to the sources of Scottish history; as one, in short, not acquainted with the results of modern investigation. This conclusion, it appears to the editor, has been arrived at with precipitancy, and without due examination. Had the question been proposed by his

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Lordship as one worthy of a fuller investigation than it had received, instead of sentence of condemnation being pronounced so sweepingly, we should, probably, ere this time, have had the matter discussed quietly and dispassionately, and the public would have gained, instead of having lost, by the keenness of his Lordship's mental vision. Certain errors in names and in chronology were detected; every one must admit that they are errors, and gross errors too;—but is it a fair inference, because some errors are found in a poem, containing several thousands of lines, written by a blind and ignorant versifier, and in a poem, too, handed down for a long period by recitation, that the whole is utterly worthless? The present collection of documents places this subject in a new and interesting position; for it shows us that those very particulars, which, from their romantic character, were supposed to be fictitious, and which contributed to throw discredit upon the whole production, are, in reality, genuine and authentic history. And this may perhaps induce some one, who has leisure for the task, to devote a few hours of that leisure to the composition of "An Inquiry into the Genuineness and Authenticity of the Poem called 'The Wallace.'"

But to return from this digression, (which, however, is scarcely to be called a digression, since it is not wholly disconnected with the general object we have in view,) and to take up the subject of the contents of this volume at the point at which we left it, we may add, that, after due deliberation, it was also resolved to exclude the narrative respecting Wallace, which pro-

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fesses to be written by his Chaplain.* Circumstances, both external and internal, seem to show that it is of more than dubious authenticity, and, granting that it is based upon truth, it certainly is not written by the personage under whose name it now passes current.

We now proceed to make a few remarks upon those documents which are here printed for the first time; and, without incurring the charge of vanity, it may perhaps be permitted the editor to congratulate himself in having brought before the literary public of Scotland, information equally new and interesting respecting such a personage as Sir William Wallace. The subject is one which naturally has engaged the attention of every Scotchman for centuries, and yet, after centuries of investigation, we find details of authentic history regarding him which have been hitherto unknown.

It forms no part of the duty of an editor to weave these into one continued narrative, or to show how far the information so brought together agrees with, or adds to, or contradicts, our preconceived impressions. The writer of this preface hopes to be forgiven, however, if he ventures to detain the reader while he lays before him a few notices of the more important of the documents contained in this volume.

One piece of information which we gain respecting Wallace

* Reference is here made to the relations of A. Blair.

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serves to explain what has always appeared a difficulty in the history of that individual. It will be remembered that, immediately after the defeat which he sustained at Falkirk, in 1298, he disappears from history, and no traces are found of him until a very short period before the date of his execution in 1305. The question naturally arises, Where was he during the interval? Are we to suppose that he was, during those seven years, the quiet, peaceable, and obedient vassal of Edward? Did he, the late "Dux exercitus regni Scotiæ," resign the trust reposed in him without a further effort to free his country; or, during that period, was he actively employed in the same cause, although we have not hitherto been able to trace his operations?

We are now enabled to answer this question. Wallace, during that period, did *not* neglect his trust; he did *not* forsake the cause in which he had embarked; he *did* exert him to the utmost in defence of the fallen and betrayed liberties of his country; and the project which he formed, and would have executed, but for the intervention of unexpected accidents, was no less remarkable for its boldness, than the comprehensive views which it exhibited.

The battle of Falkirk convinced Wallace of the impossibility of sustaining any longer the contest against such a powerful and well disciplined army as Edward brought into the field; and experience now taught him that he could not alone oppose a body

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of men, disunited among themselves, traitors to their country,* and induced, by the private jealousies and prejudices of their leaders,† to thwart his exertions, and prevent his further interference. Had he been influenced by pride, ambition, or any of those private feelings which form too often the spring of action of most minds, save those of the highest order, he would in all probability have retired from the contest with disgust at the ingratitude and treachery of his countrymen, or, like too many of the Scottish nobility, have earned the favour of Edward by timely submission. But, though there was much to tempt him to either course, and had he fallen under the temptation, much might have been said to palliate his conduct, he was neither a waverer nor a traitor to the cause which he had espoused. Finding no farther chance of success at home, he sought it abroad; and, leaving his fallen country and her degraded nobility for a time, he hastened to plead the cause of Scotland at the throne of France.

We cannot wonder that he should adopt this course, for it appeared to hold out every prospect of success. Without re-

* See p. 62. Trivet, p. 334, says, "Nolebant Majores Scotiæ post prœlium de Faukirke Willelmo Walays tanquam duci et capitaneo obedire." The printed edition reads "Volebant," but the correction, as given above, is sanctioned by MSS. collated by the Editor.

† The Comyns are said by Fordun to have been the chief instigators of this act of treachery and treason, and, from what we know of the conduct of that family, there seems sufficient reason to admit the truth of the accusation. Some documents exhibiting their dealings with Edward are printed in the Appendix to this Preface, (No. I.)

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verting to the league of Achaius with Charlemagne, (had he been acquainted with it,) Wallace must have been aware that their mutual interests had long united France and Scotland in one common bond of enmity against England. John Baliol and Philip the Fair, the respective sovereigns of these kingdoms, had entered into a league, offensive and defensive, against Edward; and, at a still later period, various embassies had passed to and fro, having the same general object in view. The position of the affairs of Guienne and Flanders with respect to England, made the prospect yet more flattering, and although Wallace must have been aware that his late defeat must have altered his position in the estimation of such a politic statesman as Philip, and abridged the probability of his interference, he yet resolved to make the attempt, and, accompanied by five companions, he sailed for France.*

But the aspect of affairs had there changed, and, in Philip's estimation, it had ceased to be expedient to favour the asserters of the Scottish liberties. Taking advantage of Edward's absence from the scene of action, he had recently marched into the Low Countries, he had made himself master of Lisle, St Omer, Courtrai, and Ypres; he had defeated the Flemings in the battle of Furnes, and seemed in a situation to take full vengeance on the Earl of Flanders, his rebellious vassal. But Edward, at the head of a large army, soon stopped the career of

* It is interesting to notice how the authentic details in this volume here bear out, to a great degree, the wild romance of Blind Harry.

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his victories; and Philip, finding all the weak resources of his kingdom already exhausted, began to dread a reverse of fortune, and to apprehend an invasion of France itself. The King of England, on the other hand, disappointed of assistance from Adolph King of the Romans, whom he had purchased at a high price, and finding many urgent calls for his presence in England, was desirous of ending, on any honourable terms, a war which served only to divert his force from the execution of more important objects. This disposition in both monarchs soon produced a cessation of hostilities, and induced them to submit their differences to the arbitration of Pope Boniface.

Such was the state of affairs when Wallace landed in France. He lost no time in proceeding to Amiens, where Philip then resided, and he urged him to assist his ancient allies against their common enemy. But interest pointed out a different line of conduct, and, as is usual in such transactions, interest preponderated over other considerations. It had been suggested by the Pope, in his character of peacemaker, that the treaty between France and England should be cemented by a double marriage; that, namely, of Edward himself, who was now a widower, with Margaret, Philip's sister, and that of the Prince of Wales with Isabella, daughter of that monarch. Philip was likewise willing to restore Guienne to the English, which he had indeed no good pretence to detain; but he insisted that the Scots and their king, John Baliol, should, as his allies, be comprehended in the treaty, and should be restored to their liberty.

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To this proposition Edward would by no means consent, and the point, after some discussion, was compromised by each making mutual concessions to the other. Edward agreed to abandon his ally the Earl of Flanders, upon condition that Philip should be equally complaisant in respect to the King of Scotland. The prospect of conquering these two countries, whose situation made them so commodious an acquisition to the respective kingdoms, prevailed over all other considerations, and the treaty was concluded. And Philip, that he might appear to give a decided proof of his sincerity, threw Wallace into prison, and despatched a letter to Edward, informing him of what he had done, and requesting to know if he would be pleased to accept the custody of the late Governor of Scotland. To this, as might have been anticipated, Edward replied in the affirmative, and the fate of Wallace now appeared to be sealed.

Fortunately for him, however, the promises made by sovereigns are seldom perfectly sincere. Private feelings might perhaps mingle with public motives, and Philip's heart would naturally revolt against the cruelty and the treachery of consigning into the hands of an implacable enemy the man who had trusted himself to his hospitality and sought his protection. Be this as it may, we know that Philip not only did not deliver Wallace up to Edward, but actually released him from prison, and furnished him with credentials to his agents resident at the court of Rome.

This important piece of information rests upon a document

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now first brought to light, and printed* in the present volume. The original was discovered by the editor, when employed as a Sub-Commissioner of Public Records, in arranging the unsorted mass of Miscellaneous Documents preserved in the Record Office in the Tower of London. Though short, it is exceedingly comprehensive and explicit. It is addressed by Philip, as we have already mentioned, to his agents at the court of Rome, and requests them to beg the Pope to interest himself in the accomplishment of these matters, which would be brought before the notice of his Holiness by his beloved "Sir William le Walois of Scotland, knight." The handwriting is undoubtedly French, and it bears every mark of being an authentic document. We are at a loss, however, to account for it being found in its present place of custody. Was Wallace prevented from conveying it to its intended destination? If carried by him to Rome, and presented to the French agents there, how came it afterwards into Edward's custody? Were the French agents, in their turn, faithless to their master? The whole is mystery. We are left to speculate upon these questions, and to lament that we have no materials for their solution.

It may be well that we take a glance at the position of affairs at Rome during the period when this Letter was written. The See was then filled by Pope Boniface the Eighth, under whom the pretensions of Gregory the Seventh were carried out into their fullest development, both in theory and practice. It was

* No. XVII. p. 163.

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his doctrine that the temporal power was inferior to the spiritual; he defined it as an article of faith necessary to salvation, that all human beings be subject to the Pope; and he attempted to make this doctrine bear upon the Kings both of France and England. It was no less the interest of Wallace than of Philip that such a mighty power as that wielded by the successor of St Peter should be brought into exercise against the King of England; and hence originated the Letter of recommendation.

We have no means of ascertaining whether this Letter was delivered, but there are circumstances which seem to indicate that it reached its destination. We know for certain, that, at this time, Boniface issued a Bull, in which he laid claim to the sovereignty of Scotland; he went so far as to affirm that Edward had no pretensions to its crown, and that its people owed him no feudal subjection. In refuting the claims advanced by that monarch, and in discussing the details into which he entered in support of his own, the Pope showed an intimate acquaintance with the early history and present circumstances of that kingdom. Edward had no difficulty in guessing whence this information was derived, and, in his answer to the Bull, he informs the Pope that he had been deceived by certain "enemies of peace and sons of rebellion," then resident at his court,* whose false suggestions he requested might be for the future disregarded. The decided manner in which Edward replied to the letter of his Holiness, and the yet more resolute tone adopted

* Foed. ii. 883.

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by the Barons assembled at Lincoln, convinced Boniface that his assumptions were treated with contempt, and that he would act more prudently by withdrawing from the conflict. He acted accordingly; and the affairs of Scotland, if they continued to attract his attention, were regarded only as one of the means by which he hoped to conciliate the King of England.

We have stated that there is no direct proof that Wallace was connected with the events which we have mentioned; but it seems no unwarrantable stretch of imagination to suppose that they were conducted under his guidance. We know that he left the court of France, armed with credentials which would introduce him to the Pope; we find the Pope at that very time adopting a new line of policy, in the working out of which he had the co-operation of certain natives of Scotland. Is it too much to hazard the conjecture, that one of these "enemies of peace" was Sir William Wallace?

Thwarted in his last project, and now without a friend, Wallace appears to have resolved upon returning to die in his own country. He had exerted himself to the uttermost in attempting to procure assistance from the only two sources whence it might reasonably have been expected; and in both he was disappointed. Shortly after the failure of his negotiations with Boniface, we find him again in Scotland, attempting to stem the tide of Edward's conquests. But this was a vain attempt; for the English monarch, now freed from the pressure of foreign

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wars and negotiations, gave the whole resources of his powerful kingdom, and the whole energies of his enterprising mind, to the subjugation of Scotland. Those who had formerly been the boldest and most devoted asserters of their country's liberties, yielded, one by one, terrified by the threats, or seduced by the promises held out to them by the conqueror; but from all terms of capitulation Wallace was studiously excluded. "As for William Wallace, it is agreed that he shall surrender himself up at the will and mercy of our Sovereign Lord the King, if it shall seem good to him,"* in other words, an unconditional surrender was demanded. We have a notice of a skirmish between Wallace and Simon Fraser, on the one side, and William le Latymer, John de Segrave, and Robert de Clifford, on the other, which took place in March 1304; and in this and the ensuing month there are traces of many attempts made by the English to overcome them by arms, or to entrap them by treachery.† After escaping from the hands of his enemies for some time, he at last fell a victim to the confidence which he reposed in a friend and countryman, and was betrayed by Sir

* Ryley, Plac. Parl. 370, A.D. 1303.

† Pp. 179, 180; see also 166, 169. In the account of the capture and execution of Wallace, preserved in the Arundel MS. 220, and printed in the "Illustrations of Scottish History," one of the Maitland publications, it is stated that he was captured in the house of one Rawe Raa, (Ralph Raa, or Ray,) in Glasgow. The same surname, with the same orthography, seems to have been preserved for a considerable period in that city, for, in 1424, Walter Raa was a Notary there, and attested an agreement between Duncan Earl of Lennox and William Bishop of Glasgow. This document is printed, pp. 240, 241, of "Hamilton of Wishaw's Description of Lanark," 4to, Glasg. 1831, Maitland Club.

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John Menteth. A document, recently discovered in the Chapter House at Westminster,* throws some light on this nefarious proceeding, and by the high amount of the rewards given to the traitors, shows Edward's estimate of the prize which they had secured for him. Forty marks, equal to thirty pounds, were given to one person who had watched Wallace, probably the individual through whose aid he had been captured; sixty marks (forty pounds) were given to others who had been employed in the same mission; a like sum was divided among those who had been present at his capture; and land to the value of one hundred pounds was assigned to Sir John Menteth. In estimating these sums with reference to the value of produce in our own day, we shall probably not overstate the amount thus distributed, if we consider it equivalent to L.1100 of ready money. This is exclusive of Sir John Menteth's share of the spoil, the amount of which it is not easy to reckon, since it was expended in land, at that time of comparatively little value in the market. So anxious was Edward to wreak his vengeance upon the head of Wallace! †

* See No. XX.

† Five days before the trial, Wallace's case had occupied Edward's special attention. Previously to the 18th August, (the trial, it will be recollected, was on the 23d,) he had issued his commission to four individuals for gaol-delivery in London and elsewhere; he now reduced the *quorum* to three, for the more rapid discharge of business. Upon reflection, this measure appears to have been considered by his Majesty as not sufficiently energetic; for, on the same day, a special commission for the trial of Wallace was issued to five individuals, of whom three should be a *quorum*. The writ contains the somewhat suspicious direction that the trial should be conducted by the judges "juxta ordinationem vobis per nos inde factam." Had this any reference to special instructions given

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No sooner had he obtained possession of his captive, than he appears to have made preparation for his execution. Although the general facts connected with this subject have been narrated by our historians, yet recent investigation has brought to light many new and interesting particulars, which are printed, for the first time, in the present volume,* and will be read with the deepest interest. It may be worth one's while to examine these documents a little more narrowly, since they throw light upon that most interesting period, the close of Wallace's eventful history.

The source whence the narrative, of which the other documents may be considered as illustrative confirmations, has been derived, has already been pointed out with sufficient minuteness,† and the general accuracy and authenticity of this valuable extract can scarcely be too highly estimated. We have here the testimony of an eye-witness probably, certainly of a contemporary writer, and of one whose official position in the city of London made him well acquainted with the whole of the details which he has preserved. Accordingly, we find that whatever information can be added to it from documents of undisputed authenticity fully supports its general correctness, and substantiates its details.‡

by the King to the commissioners? or are they mere words of course? I apprehend that the latter is the case, and that they are to be interpreted by the corresponding phrase which occurs in the Privy Seal, "selonc la ley et l'usage de notre realme."

* These remarks apply to the Articles numbered xxiv. xxv. xxvi. xxvii. and xxviii.

† In the note to p. 189.

‡ Compare No. xxvi. with p. 190.

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We have no means of ascertaining the exact date of Wallace's capture, or of the mode in which he was treated at the time, or how he was conveyed from Scotland to London. He arrived in that city, attended, as might have been expected, by a great multitude of spectators, upon Sunday, August the twenty-second,* 1305, and was lodged in the house of William de Lyre,† a citizen. The next day saw him conducted to Westminster Hall, where the trial was to be conducted. In cruel mockery of his own misfortunes, and because popular report had asserted that he had once affirmed that the time would come when he should there wear a crown, a chaplet of laurel leaves was placed upon his head. He was then indicted by Peter Malore, the King's Chief Justice, and was charged with being a traitor to the King of England, an accusation to which he pleaded "not guilty," inasmuch as being no subject of the King of England, he could not be guilty of treason;—a plea which we presume would be valid in law, and upon this indictment, at least, no judgment should have been pronounced.

Let us not suppose, however, that it was ever intended that

* Lord Hailes, A.D. 1305, affirms that Wallace was executed 23d August; but the chronological details of the Annalist, from whom the particulars here given are derived, are incontrovertible.

† It has been remarked in the note to p. 189, that Stowe, in his History of London, quotes a document similar to, or identical with, the present. In his copy, the name of this citizen is given "Delect." Lord Hailes (A.D. 1305) here holds up to our ridicule "honest John Stowe, to whom all objects appeared of equal magnitude;" but surely there are few Scotchmen, excepting his Lordship, to whom those minute particulars concerning Wallace are uninteresting.

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Wallace should have the benefit of a fair trial or an impartial hearing. He was placed there only for condemnation. The mode in which the whole proceedings were conducted justifies us in arriving at this conclusion.

The sentence which was immediately pronounced is curious, both as containing an outline of Wallace's exploits, and of the principles upon which he was condemned. It recites that John Baliol, (whom it does not call King of Scotland,) having forfeited the kingdom of Scotland, Edward conquered it, and publicly received the homage and fealty of its "prelates, earls, barons, and others,"—that he proclaimed his peace through the realm,—that he systematised a government for it "according to the laws and customs of that land,"—that the foresaid William Wallace, forgetting his fealty and allegiance, had raised an immense body of followers, had attacked the English officers, had slain William de Heselregg, Sheriff of Lanark, whose dead body he afterwards cut into pieces,*—that, gaining strength and influence, he stormed the English garrisons, caused his writs to run through all Scotland, as if he were Superior Lord of that realm,—that he summoned parliaments,—that he attempted to league himself with the King of France,—that he ravaged Northumberland, Cumberland, and Westmoreland,—that he opposed the King in a pitched battle, and that, when defeated, he refused to avail himself of the terms of peace then held out to his accept-

* This seems to have been a favourite exploit with Wallace, or at least a favourite accusation. It reminds one of what is said to have happened to Cressingham.

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ance. He was therefore outlawed. "And since it is, and is believed to be unjust," continues the sentence, "and inconsistent with the laws of England, that one so outlawed, and put without the laws, nor afterwards restored to the king's peace, should be admitted either to defend himself or to plead,"—sentence of death was accordingly pronounced upon him.

Hence we learn that Edward's arguments ran somehow thus. He had overrun Scotland by force of arms, he had prevailed upon several of the nobility, spiritual and temporal, to acknowledge his superiority, and had established a system of government,* calculated to maintain his own ambitious projects. Wallace had attained man's estate prior to the advancement of Edward's claims; he had never done fealty to that monarch; he did not consider himself bound to do so, either by the submission of a certain number of his countrymen, or by the establishment of the English yoke by force of arms. Terms implying an unconditional surrender are offered, but he rejected them; and he was denounced as an outlaw, and executed as a traitor, without being permitted to speak so much as one sentence in his own defence.

Although Wallace was the maker, rather than the inheritor, of a noble name, yet the family from which he was descended was, to say the least, respectable. It is neither the duty nor the

* Several of the appointments of Edward's ministers, together with the salaries which they received, are printed in Appendix A, No. VI.

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intention of the editor to investigate this part of the subject at any great length, but he cannot refrain from putting together the result of pretty considerable researches which have been made into those sources whence accurate information was most likely to be derived. It will appear from the memoranda thrown into the note,* that the name of Wallace or Wallensis is not local, but simply designated any native of the ancient kingdom of Wales. By what means, or at what period, the family from

* Robertus Walensis, 25 Hen. II. Rot. Pip. in com. Ebor.
Willemus Walensis, 17 H. III. Rot. Pip. in com. Norf. m. 1. dorso.
Henricus le Waleis, 43 H. III. *do.* in com. Wiltes.
John le Waleis, 48 H. III. *do.* in com. Essex.
Joh̃ Walensis, 51 H. III. in Civit. London. Rot. Pip. in eod. loco.
Johan. Waleis, "agistator forestæ de Salseto," Rot. Pip. 55 Hen. III.
"Adam le Waleis de Chuluetone," 15 E. I. Rot. Pip. in com. Somerset.
There was a John le Waleys de Overton, in the county of Berwick, who swore fealty to Edward I. in 1296. (3 Pryn. 659.)
David le Waleys, a foot archer, was in the garrison of Berwick in 32d Edwd. I. (Add. MS. Brit. Mus. 8835, 95, b.)
Mauric de Waleys, a scutifer in the retinue of Edmund de Hastings, the Warden of the town of Berwick, was in the garrison there from 12th May to 7th July, 5 Edwd. II. (Vesp. c. xvi. 2.)
William le Waleys, a scutifer in the garrison of Berwick from 1st June to 7th July, 5 Edwd. II. (Vesp. c. xvi. f. 4.)
John Walleñ of Ireland was in the garrison of Berwick in March, 5 Edwd. II. (Nero, c. viii. f. 85.)
Walter Wallens, an archer in the garrison of Berwick from 1st June to 7th July, 5 Edwd. II. (Vesp. c. xvi. f. 5, b.)
William Valeys, a scutifer in the garrison of Berwick from 1st August to 29th March, 5 Edwd. II. (Vesp. c. xvi. f. 2, b.) And also a scutifer in the same garrison from 1st April to 7th July, 5 Edwd. II. (Vesp. c. xvi. f. 5.)
Robert Valeys, a scutifer in Berwick garrison from 1st August to 31st December, 5 Edwd. II. (Vesp. c. xvi. f. 3.)
Walter Valeys, an archer in the garrison of Berwick Castle from 18th November to 7th July, 5 Edwd. II. (Vesp. xvi. f. 6, b.)

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which Sir William was descended arrived in Scotland, is unknown to us, though, if it be permitted us to hazard a conjecture, we should say that they settled in Ayrshire and Renfrew under the Stewarts, whom they probably accompanied into Scotland. The following pedigree will show their descent.

RICHARD WALENSE acquired lands in Kyle, where he settled and named the place Ricard-tun, which is now the name of a village and parish in Ayrshire. He was a witness to charters of Walter the first Steward, one before the year 1174, (Chart. Pais. 7.)

RICHARD WALENSE succeeded him, and lived cotemporary with Alan the son of Walter.

RICHARD WALENSE, alias Waleys, (for in the Chartularies the name is written both ways,) succeeded him, and lived at the same time with the second Walter, and with his son Alexander. He held the Estate of Auchencrowe, on the River Ayr, (Dalrym. Col. 413,) as well as the original Estate of Ricardtun, and other lands in Kyle.

HENRY WALENSE held lands in Renfrewshire under Walter the Steward, in the early part of the thirteenth century.

ADAM WALENSE flourished during the reign of Alexander II., and is called, in a charter of the Second Walter, "miles noster."

MALCOLM WALEYS of Elderslie, Auchenbathie, &c. — Daughter of Sir Reginald Crawford, Sheriff of Ayr.

- SIR ANDREW WALLACE, Knight, killed by the English.
- SIR WILLIAM WALLACE OF ELDERSLIE, or ELLERSLIE, in Renfrewshire, second son, first appears in May 1297, and was executed 23d August 1305. S.P. The estate of Ellerslie went to the Wallaces of Ricardton, as his nearest male-heirs, or perhaps rather to his brother John.
- JOHN, brother of William, taken prisoner and executed A.D. 1307.

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The family, at a later period, remained long resident upon the spot which had been rendered celebrated by being the birthplace of Sir William, seldom rising into marked eminence, but pursuing calmly and quietly the even tenor of their way. The Members of the Maitland Club are indebted to a descendant of that family for the genealogical notices which are to be found in this volume.*

The reader will learn, with considerable interest, that there exists, in the possession of H. P. Wallace, Esq., of Priory Lodge, near Cheltenham, a painting which has been considered by competent judges to be an original portrait of the Scottish Hero. The editor cannot give a better description of this valuable memorial, or a more judicious sketch of its history, than is to be found in the following extracts from a letter addressed by its present possessor to the Secretary of the Maitland Club.

"The Portrait was procured in France by Margaret Countess of Southesk; and by her presented to an ancestor of mine, Robert Wallace of Holmston, then Sheriff of Ayrshire.

"The above is the inscription on a brass plate. The Picture is framed in the remains of the tree called Sir William Wallace's Oak, from the Torwood, Stirlingshire, cut from the stump in 1779, and given to my father by Sir James Dunbar of Mochrum.

* Appendix B.

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"The Picture is in perfect preservation, and a fine representation of a Scotch warrior of the period. In letters at the top of the Picture, 'GUL : WALLAS : SCOTUS : HOSTIUM : TERROR.'

"Mr Wallace of Kelly saw the Picture in my house some time ago, and knew of nothing to compete with it in originality. It answers to the description of the Patriot given by Blind Harry, who alludes to a Picture painted of him in France; but into whose hands such a picture fell is stated to be unknown.

"At least the probability is, that this Picture was painted in France, and it is not probable that it was a copy."

The present volume is enriched with a fac-simile engraving of the interesting letter addressed by Wallace and Murray, "the leaders of the army of the kingdom of Scotland," to the citizens of Lubeck and Hamburg.* This fac-simile was not obtained until the text, as given in the letter-press, had been printed off. The editor regrets that it was not in his possession in sufficient time to obviate the necessity of inserting the conjectural emendation of "Haddingtonam" for "Badsingtonam." It were much to be desired that a document of such peculiar interest to Scotland should be preserved in this kingdom, where alone its peculiar value can be duly estimated. The public is indebted to the kindness of P. A. Ramsay, Esq., of Edinburgh, a Member of the Maitland Club, for having obtained (through

* See p. 159.

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the medium of his friend, Robert Peacock, Esq., a Scotsman, resident at Lubeck) from Dr Winckler of the latter place, the fac-simile tracing whence the faithful lithograph accompanying this volume is taken.

The writer of this notice cannot permit it to appear before the Members of the MAITLAND CLUB without attempting to express his sense of the obligations conferred upon the literature and history of Scotland by the exertions of that learned body. He may be permitted to specify, more particularly, his individual obligations to its Secretary, Dr JOHN SMITH of CRUTHERLAND, under whose judicious and zealous administration the Club has issued from its press a series of volumes, equally remarkable for judgment in selection, and beauty in execution.

JOSEPH STEVENSON.

DURHAM, *December* 1841.

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APPENDIX A.

No. I.

[Rot. Claus. 21 Edw. I. m. 9.*]

℣ Alexo Comyn comẽ de Boghan. } Quia dilitus ⁊ fidꝫ ꝯ Alex̃ Comyn comes de Boghan die Sabbti in cꝫstino Scī Swythini anno regni regꝭ quinto liberavit in garderoba ꝯ magro Thome Beekꝭ tunc custodi ejusdem garderobe ⁊ postmodum epo Meneveñ quinqꝫginta marcas p quas finem fecit cum ꝯ. p suicio suo cie ptis duoꝝ feodoꝝ militū quod ꝯ recognovit p exꝰcitu ꝯ Walī anno supꝫdcō put in litis ꝯ patentibz quas inde ħet plenius continetʳ. mandꝫ est Thes̃ ⁊ Baronibz de Sccꝫio q̃d ꝑdcm̃ com̃ de ꝑdcis quinqꝫginta marcis quietum esse faciat. T' Rꝭ apud Westm̃. xxviij die Aprīl.

[Rot. Pat. 24 Edw. I. m. 6.]

℣ Johe Comyn de Badenagh. } Rꝭ omibz Balīis ⁊ fidꝫ suis ad quos &c̃ saltm̃ Cum Johes Comyn de Badenagh cum uxore ⁊ familia sua ad ptes Angī p ꝑceptum nr̃m se tꝫnsferat ibidem put ordinavimꝰ moraturus. vob

* The following documents are interesting, as showing the intercourse between the Comyns and King Edward.

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mandam⁹ qđ eidem Johanni aut familie ſue in ꝑſonis herneſ aut aliis rebz ſuis in eundo ꝑ ꝑtes ꝑdcãs ⁊ ibidem morando ut ꝑdcm̃ eſt non inferatis vel inferri ꝑmittatis injuriam moleſtiam dampnũ impedimentũ ſeu gᵛvamen In cui⁹ &c̃. uſqꝫ ad feſtum oĩm Scõꝝ ꝑx futuř duratuř. T' ut ſupᵛ [ut patet ſuperius, apud Berewỳk ſuꝑ Twedam xij die Sept.]

No. II.

[Rot. Claus. 21 Edw. I. m. 9.*]

℟ Joħe de Balliolo rege Scoꝗ de ꝗra de Tindał. } Quia ř accepit ꝑ inquiſ quam ꝑ Thomã de Normanvilł eſc̃ ſuũ ultᵛ Trentam fieri fecit q̃d Aleẋ quondam ř Scoł ultimo defunct⁹ tenuit de ř in capite ꝗras de Tỳndale die quo obiit ꝑ homagiũ ⁊ q̃d Joħes de Balliolo nunc ř Scoꝗ ꝑpinquior heres ejus eſt ⁊ plene etatis. ꝗras illas cum ꝑtiñ que occᵛone mortis ꝑdc̃i Aleẋ capte ſunt in manũ ř eidem Joħi ř reddidit ſalvo jure cujuſlibet. ita q̃d citᵛ quindenam Sc̃i Micħis ꝑx̃ futurã v̄l in eadem quindena ad nos accedat homag̃m ſuum ꝑ ꝗris illius ř ſturus. Et mand̃ eſt ꝑdc̃o eſc̃ q̃d eidem ř ꝗras ꝑdcãs cũ ꝑtiñ liberet in forᵛ ꝑdcã. T' Rꝗ apud Weſtm̃ iij. die Maii.

ꝑ regẽ ⁊ conſiliũ.

[Rot. Pat. 21 Edw. I. m. 18.]

℟ Joħe de Balliolo rege Scocie. } Rꝗ omibz ⁊c̃ ſałtm. Sciatis q̃d de illis tribz milibus ducentis quaꝗ viginti ⁊ novem libris quatuordecĩ ſolid̃ uno denař ⁊ uno obolo in quibz dilc̃us ⁊ fidelis ñr Joħes de Balliolo rex Scocie noƀ tenetur ꝑ relevio ſuo de ꝗris ⁊ tenem̃tis que fuerũt Dervorgulle de Balliolo m̃ris ſue in Scocia ꝑdonavim⁹ eidẽ regi tria milia libraꝫ de gr̃a nr̃a ſp̃ali. Et de reſiduis ducentis quaꝗ viginti ⁊ novem

* The following documents illustrate the mode in which Baliol was treated by Edward as to his lands in England.

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libris quator decī ſolid̄ uno denario ⁊ uno obolo conceſſimus ei q̃d reddat nob̄ ad ſcc^m nr̄m Sc̄i Mich̄is p̄x̄ futur̄ viginti ⁊ novem libras quatuordecim ſolidos unū denar̄ ⁊ unū obolū ⁊ poſtmodū ſing̃lis annis ad idē ſcc^m q^draginta libras ad voluntatē ñram unā videl̄t medietatē ad ſcc^m paſche anno regni nr̄i viceſimo ſc̄do ⁊ aliā medietatē ad ſcc^m nr̄m Sc̄i Mich̄is p̄ximo ſequens ⁊ ſic de anno in annū ad eoſdē ꝯminos quadragīta libras ad voluntatem nr̄am ⁊ donec ꝑdc̄e ducente quat̄ viginti novem libre quatuordecī ſolidi unus denar⁹ ⁊ unus obolus nob̄ p̄ſolvantur. In cuj⁹ rei teſt̄ ⁊c̄ T' R ap̄d Weſtm̄ viij. die Maii.

[Rot. Claus. 21 Edw. I. m. 2.]

Scot̄.
℟ Joh̄e de Balliolo rege Scocie de homagio capto.

R cepit homagiū Joh̄is de Balliolo regis Scotie de omnib⁹ ꝯris ⁊ teñ que idem Joh̄es tenet de R in capite in Angl̄. videl̄t de ꝯra de Tyndale ⁊ de mañiis de Soureby ⁊ Penreth cū p̄tiñ que p̄ mortem Alex̄ nup̄ regis Scotie anteceſſoris ipīus Joh̄is r̄ capi fecit in manū ſuam ac de p̄parte ſua honoris Huntingdoñ et ei ꝯras illas ⁊ teñ ac p̄part ꝑdc̄am cū p̄tiñ r̄ reddidit ſalvo in oīb⁹ jure r̄ ⁊ h̄edum ſuo⁹ cū r̄ inde loqui volu̅it ⁊ eciam jure alt̄ius cuj⁹cūq̄. Et ideo mand̄ eſt Thome de Normanvill̄ eſc̄ r̄ ult^ Trentam q̃d eidē Joh̄i de maneriis ꝑdc̄is cum p̄tiñ que ſunt in balliva ſua plenam ſeiſinam h̄re faciat in forma ꝑdc̄a. T' R apud Weſtm̄. xxix die Octob̄r.

Eodem modo mand̄ eſt Malculmo de Harley̋e eſcaetori r̄ cit^ Trentam q̃d ꝑdc̄o Joh̄i de p̄parte ꝑdc̄a cū p̄tiñ que eſt in balliva ſua plenā ſeiſinā h̄re fac̄ in forma ꝑdc̄a. T' ut ſup^.

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No. III.

[Rot. Pat. 24 Edw. I. m. 16.*]

Ð inveniēdo manucapcōes. coram Rogᵒo Brabazon. } Rꝛ dilco ⁊ fideli ſuo Roḡo Brabazun ſalꝫm. Sciatis qd̄ nos pietate moti ſup eo qd̄ tot ⁊ tam diuſi homines de regno nr̄o tociens incidunt in amiſſione vite ⁊ membroꝝ de quibz quidam ſunt rectati ⁊ aliqui indictati ac aliqui p ꝓbatores appellati de homicidiis roꝗiis ⁊ aliis criminibus ⁊ tenſgr̄ diuſis contꝛ pacem nr̄am fcīs ⁊ quidam p tranſgr̄ de foreſta qui p patrias ſunt vagantes multa mala diuſimode facientes ꝓpetrantes ⁊ ꝓcurantes p quod quidā ex ip̄is impriſonati ⁊ quidā utlagati aut ſubſtracti exiſtant p hujuſmodi malis evitandis ⁊ ſub ſpe melioracionis hujuſmodi malefcōꝝ ac quiete p̄pli de regno nr̄o conceſſimus de gr̄a nr̄a ſpeciali qd̄ om̄es huiᵒmodi ħoies qui ad pacem nr̄am venire voluīnt. ſalvo ⁊ ſecure veniant coram voꝗ quem ad hoc aſſignavimus p ſe vl̄ p amicos ſuos ⁊ eciam corā voꝗ p ſe vel p amicos ſuos inveniāt ſufficientem manucapcōem de profiſcendo ſtatim in obſequiū nr̄m ad ꝓtes Scoc̄. ⁊ ibidem morando ad vadia nr̄a vl̄ alio modo qꝛmdiu noꝗ placuīt et poſtqꝛm inde redierint de ſtando recto in Curia nr̄a ſi quis uſus eos loqui voluīt de homicidiis roꝗiis ⁊ aliis criminibz ⁊ tranſgr̄. de quibz rectati appłłati ſeu p quibz impriſonati utlagati aut ſubſtracti exiſtunt. Et q̄d p hujuſmodi manucapcōem p vos teſtificatam coram Cancell̄ nr̄o ħeant hujuſmodi manucapt' littras nr̄as patentes de ꝓdonacione ſecte pacis nr̄e ſup homicidiis roꝗiis ⁊ aliis criminibz ⁊ tranſgr̄ p̄dc̄is qꝛntum ad nos ꝓtinet. Et ideo voꝗ mandamus qd̄ premiſſa faciatis in forma p̄dc̄a. In cujus &c̄. T' Rꝛ apud Barntoñ viij. die Marc̄.

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* Edward's mode of collecting an army for the Scottish expedition may be gathered from the following document. See p. 15.

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No. IV.

[Rot. Pat. 24 Edw. I. m. 8.*]

Ð ꝑteccione.} Frat̃ Brianus de Jay̆ Magr̃ Milicie Templi in Angl̃ qui de licencia Rſ morat̃ in Angl̃ ħet litt̃as Rſ de attorn in Scoc̃ ſub nõibꝫ fris Joħis de Sautre ⁊ Robi de Sautre dur̃ uſq̃ ad feſtum Scī Michis ꝑx futur̃ ⁊ ab eodem feſto uſq̃ in unū annū ꝑx ſeqn completū ꝑſentibꝫ &c. T' Rſ apd̃ Berewyk ſup Tweđ p'mo die Septembr'.

No. V.

[Rot. Pat. 24 Edw. I. m. 7.†]

Ð ꝑſentacione.} Joħes de Drokeneſford̃ clicus ħet litt̃as Rſ de ꝑſentacõne ad ecc̃iam de Kyngeſclere vac̃ ꝑ reſignū Hug̃ de Creſſingh̃m nup ꝑſone ejuſdem ⁊ ad donacõem Rſ ſpectantem. Et dir̃ lrē .J. Wyntoñ Epõ vl̃ ejꝰ vices gꝰenti ipo agente in ꝑtibꝫ t̃nſmar̃ T' Rſ apud Fenh̃m xviij. die Sept̃ ⁊ dupp̃.

No. VI.

[Rot. Liber. 33 Edw. I. m. 1.]
Oct. 25.

℟ Joħe de Inſula} Rſ dilco clico ſuo Joħe de Landale Camar̃ ſuo Scoc̃. ſaltm̃. Liberate de exitibꝫ t̃re nr̃e ꝑdce dilco ⁊ fideli nr̃o Joħe de Inſula quē conſtituimꝰ Juſtic̃ nr̃m una cū dilco ⁊ fideli nr̃o Adam de Gurdoñ

* See p. 38, 62, 83, *etc.*

† See p. 41, note.

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in ꝑtibꝫ de Leveneys ſexaginta marcas ſinglis annis ad ꝯminos conſuetos q^er^mdiu officio intenderit ſup^er^dcõ. Et nos vobis in compoto vro ad ſc^er^cm nrm debitam allocacõem here faciem⁹. T' Rꝗ apud Weſtm. xxv die Octobr.

Conſimiles tras hent Miniſtri nri ſubſcripti de feodis ſuis infraſcript. videlicet.

P' Ada Gurdon} P' fat⁹ Adam de Gurdon Juſtic cũ ꝑdcõ Johe in dcis ꝑtibꝫ de quadraginta marcis.

℗ Rog⁹o de Kirkpatrick.} Rog⁹us de Kirkpatrik Juſticiar cũ Walꝯo de Burghdon in ꝑtibꝫ Galwyd de decẽ marcis.

Idẽ Walꝯus de Burghedon Juſtic &c. de q^i^ndecim marcis.

℗ divſis Juſtic in Scocia. } Robs de Keth Juſtic una cũ Henr de Kighle inꝯ Ripiam de Ford ꝯ Montes de quadraginta marcis.

Idẽ Henricus Juſtic &c de ſexaginta marcis.

Reginaldus le Chien Juſtic cũ Johe de Vallibꝫ ultra Montes Scoc de viginti marcis.

Idẽ Johes &c de Triginta marcis.

Robtus Heron clicus contrarotuloꝝ Rꝗ in Camaria Scoc de Triginta marcis.

[Rot. Lib. 33 Edw. I. m. 1.]

℗ Johe de Segrave} Rꝗ dilco clico ſuo Johe de Sandale Camar ſuo Scoc ſaltm. Libate de exitibꝫ ꝯre nre ꝑdce dilco ꝯ fid nro Johe de Seg^er^ve

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nup Cuſtodi ꝗre nře Scocie citra mare ⁊ Juſticiař nřo in ꝑtibꝫ de Leveneỏs quadringentas Marcas quas ei conceſſim⁹ ꝑcipiend̄ in officio illo a feſto ſc̄i Hillař anno regni nři triceſimo ꝗcio uſqꝫ ad p̍mū die Auguſti ꝑxio ſequentē. Et nos vob̄ inde in compoto vřo ad Sc̄cm nřm debitā allocacionū ħere faciem⁹. T' R⁹ apud Weſtm̄ xxv die Oc̄tobř.

Conſ ĩras ħent ſubſcripti videlicet.

℣ divſis Conſtab̄ in Scoc̄. } Joħes de Kỏngeſtoñ Conſtabul̄ Caſtri R⁹ de Edenburgħ de q̍nq̄ginta lib̄r quas &c̄ ut ſup̄.

Rob̄tus de Haſtang nup Conſtabul̄ Caſtri Rſ de Rokeſburgh de q̍nq̄ginta lib̄r quas &c̄ ut ſup̄.

Ricūs de Haſtang nup Conſtabul̄ Caſtri Rſ de Jeddeworth̄ de viginti ⁊ quinqꝫ lib̄r quas &c̄ ut ſup̄.

Wilĩs de Feltoñ Cuſtos peli de Lỏnliſcu de quadraginta lib̄r &c̄ ut ſup̄.

Wilĩs Bỏſet Conſtabul̄ Caſtri Rſ de St̍velỏn de Centū marcis quas &c̄ ꝑ cuſtodia eiuſdem Caſtri a tēpe quo Rſ receſſit de ꝑtibꝫ ilĩ uſqꝫ nūc. T' ut ſ̄.

Rſ ꝓfato Joħe de Sandele &c̄ ſalt̄m. Lib̄ate de exitibꝫ ꝗre ñre ꝓdc̄e dil̄co ⁊ fideli nřo Joħe de Kỏngeſtoñ Conſtabulario Caſtri nři de Edeneburgħ ⁊ uni q̄tuor Cuſtodū nřoꝝ ꝗre ꝓdc̄e q̍nq̄ginta lib̄r quas ei conceſſim⁹ ꝑcipiend̄ ad ſuſtentac̄ōem quoꝝdam hoĩum ad arma quos ipm̄ Johem̄ ꝑ cuſtodia illa uſqꝫ ad p̍mam dñicam quadrageſime ꝑxio futur̄ retinere nēc̄rio optebit. Et nos vob̄ &c̄ T' Rſ ut ſup̄.*

ꝑ ipm̄ Regem.

* Ut patet superius, apud Westm̄ xxv die Octob̄r.

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No. VII.

[Rot. Liber. 19 Edw. I. m. 3.*]

℟ Rog⁹o Brabazoun. } R(Thes̃ ⁊ Camariis ſuis ſaltm. Liḃate de thſo nſo dilto ⁊ fideli nſo Roḡo Brabazun uni juſticiario⁊ nſo⁊ ad p̃lita nſa coram noḃ tenenda aſſignato⁊ viginti ⁊ quinq; marcas de ⁊mino paſche anno regni nſi decimo nono de annuo feodo ſuo quod ei conceſſim⁹ pcipiend in officio p̃dc̃o. T' apud Norh'm ſc̃do die Juñ.

* The following extract shows the salary of Brabazon. See p. 181.

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APPENDIX B.

GENEALOGIE

OF

THE ILLUSTRIOUS AND ANCIENT FAMILY OF CRAIGIE WALLACE,

IN THE SHIRE OF AIRE, AND WESTERN PARTS OF SCOTLAND.

THE antiquity, as well as eminent dignity, of this family, sufficiently appear from ancient history, old charters, and other monuments of this kind, and from its rank and precedency among the Scotish gentlemen;—for, about the year 1153,

I. ADAM WALLACE of Richardton, in the shire of Air, (whose wife is unknown,) had two sons, viz. Sir Richard, who succeeded him, and Malcolm, who got the five pound land of Elderslie, in portion-natural, holding by ward and releif of the family of Richardton, and afterwards held in the same manner of Craigie, after the two families of Richardton and Craigie were joined in one. Malcolm married Jean Craufoord, daughter to Sir Ronald Craufoord of Corsbie, in the shire of Aire, upon whom he begot the famous and valiant SIR WILLIAM WALLACE OF ELLERSLIE, whose memory is eternised for valour and loyalty. He fought many battles against the English, (who then tyranized over Scotland,) when there were few or none to appear for either King or country; for which, after the death of Alexander III. King of Scotland, who died without issue, he was most deservedly made Regent of the kingdome, Commander-in-chief, and General of the armies. He performed many stupendious and almost incredible feats of arms, and three several times forced the English to abandon Scotland, whereby he rescued it out of the hands of these oppressors, and restored it to its primitive liberty; but, at last, he was basely betrayed, and most inhumanly murdred by the English.

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II. Sir Richard Wallace of Richardton succeeded to his father. He married Lady Helen Bruce, daughter to the Earle of Carrick, which family derives its pedegree from the same stock with the ancient Kings of the Scots; by whome he had two sones,

III. Adam Wallace of Richardton, and Sir Duncan Wallace of Sundrum. This Sir Duncan had a great estate, which he divided among his three daughters; the eldest of whome was maried to Lord Cathcart, chief of his name, who, by that marriage, got the lands of Sundrum, Auchincrove, Dalmelling, and many others, which still remain in that noble family.

IV. John Wallace of Richardton succeeded to his father Adam. He married Dame Margaret Lindsay, only daughter to Sir James Lindsay of Craigie, in the shire of Aire, of which she was heretrix; upon which marriage it was agreed that the arms of Wallace, which were a white lion rampant, in a blue field, should be quartered with the arms of Lindsay of Craigie, which were a chequer, and that the representatives of the family in all time coming should carry the title of Craigie Wallace,—he quitting his title, and she her name. He had three sons: Adam, the eldest; William, who got the lands of Burn Bank, which is a family still; and Robert, who died in France without issue.

V. Adam Wallace of Craigie, first Knight of that name, succeeded to his father John. He married Douglas, daughter to the Lord Dalkeith, now Earles of Morton, by whome he had an only son.

VI. John Wallace of Craigie succeeded his father Adam. He married Dame Elizabeth Cathcart, daughter to Alan Lord Cathcart, by whom he had three sons; William, the eldest, Adam, the second, who was laird of Cairnhill, which is still a considerable family, and the third, Hew, who maried the heretrix of Ellerslie. This John was a very gallant man. He was Lieutenant-General to King James II., and fought the battle of Sark or Solway against the English, in anno 1447, wherein he was victorious, and, with his own hand, killed Magnus the English General. He was wounded in the field, whereof he died about three months after the battle. The standard which he carried at the feight, and the signet ring which he wore, are kept in the family as monuments of him.

VII. William Wallace of Craigie succeeded to his father John. He married Margaret Johnston, daughter to the Laird of Johnston, now Marquis of Anandale, by whom he had

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VIII. JOHN WALLACE of Craigie succeeded to his father William. He maried Dame Catharine Douglas, daughter to the Earl of Angus, now Duke of Douglass, by whom he had one son.

IX. JOHN WALLACE, stiled the Good Laird, succeeded to his father John, about the year 1507. He married Margaret Rutherford, daughter to the Lord Rutherford, chief of the name, (of which family was that most noble and valiant General Rutherford, Earl of Teviot, now long extinct,) by whom he had four sons; John, the eldest, Alexander, who went to the North of England, and married the heretrix of Bemly, in Yorkshire, which is a considerable family to this day, lineally descended from him, who still retain the name of Wallace. Besides many others of that sirname, he propagated in the Easter Border of England, Robert, who was a Colonel in Germany, and was killed there without leaving any issue, and Thomas, Master of Arts, and one of the Professors in the University of Saint Andrews. He married a citizen's daughter there; upon whom he begot an only son, called Thomas, who, in his younger years, was page to King James the Fifth, and thereafter domestic to Queen Mary, and in great respect with her. He was taken prisoner at the Battle of Langside, but made his escape to the Low Countries, and died at Antwerp. He married a wife of a good family, and there having made a considerable figure, according to a monument erected to him, he left behind him a son of this wife, called Francis Wallace, who was a merchant at Lisbon. This John had also two daughters; the eldest was Lady Waghton Hepburn, in East Lothian, and the other Lady Clunie Crichton.

X. JOHN WALLACE of Craigie succeeded to his father John, the Good Laird. He married Dame Isobell Campbell, daughter to Lord Loudon, now Earl of Loudon, by whom he had four sons, William, Robert, Thomas, and Michael.

XI. WILLIAM WALLACE of Craigie succeeded to his father John. He married Margaret Kennedy, daughter to the Laird of Bargeny, by whom he had one son, John. His relict, Margaret Kennedy, was afterwards married to Gilbert Earl of Cassillis, by whom she had two sons, Gilbert the Earl, and Sir Thomas Tutor of Cassillis, of whom is descended the family of Culzean, and three daughters, the eldest of whom was married to the Earl of Orkney, the second to Lord Gray, and the youngest to the Laird of Barnbarrow.

XII. JOHN WALLACE of Craigie succeeded to his father William. He married Lady Margaret Cunningham, daughter to the Earl of Glencairn. He had five sons; John the eldest, William, Robert, Michael, and Allan; this last was a mer-

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chant in the Low Countries, where he made a considerable figure, and left issue, which still subsists very creditably there. He had also one daughter, called Anabella, who was married to Sir William Hamilton of Sorn, in the shire of Air.

XIII. John Wallace of Craigie succeeded his father John. He married Lady Margaret Campbell, daughter to Lord Loudon, now Earl of Loudon, by whom he had only one son.

XIV. John Wallace of Craigie succeeded to his father John. He maried Lady Margaret Maxwell, daughter to the Earl of Nithsdale, by whom he had five sons. Hew the eldest, William, Thomas, James, and Robert, whose posterity by hereditary succession possess many lands not only in the shire of Aire, but in other parts of Scotland.

XV. Sir Hew Wallace of Craigie, Baronet, succeeded to his father John. He married Esther Ker, daughter to the Laird of Littleden, by whom he had only one son, Hew, who became *fatuus*, and thereby was incapable to succeed. Sir Hew himself was a constant adherer to the King's interest during the long rebellion in King Charles the First and Second's time; he raised a regiment of foot for their service, upon his own expenses, for which the Rebels sequestrated his estate, and continued in possession thereof till King Charles the Second's Restoration. All this brought him under a vast burden of debt, and forced him to sell a considerable part of his estate, (which was then in a very flourishing condition,) but he had never any recompence therefore, by reason of his son's being *fatuus*. He was succeeded by

XVI. Sir Thomas Wallace of Craigie, Baronet, son to William Wallace of Failford, his first cousin. This Sir Thomas was procreated betwixt William Wallace of Failford, cousin and nearest heir-male to the Laird of Craigie, and Agnes Boyd, daughter to Sir Thomas Boyd of Bonshaw, uncle to the Lord Boyd, after Earl of Kilmarnock. Sir Thomas succeeded about the year 1660, and followed the study of law for some years; practised as Council at Law in the chief Courts of Judicature within the kingdom of Scotland; he was then advanced to be Senator of the College of Justice, which is the Supreme Court for civil affairs; shortly thereafter, he was made Lord Justice-Clerk, who is an Officer of State by his appointment, and Chief Judge in all criminal causes; which posts he enjoyd as long as he lived. He maried Dame Euphane Gemmill, daughter to William Gemmill of Templeland and Garrive, in the shire of Air. This William Gemmill's predecessor left England upon account of a quarrel, and settled in Scotland, where he purchased the

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lands above mentioned, which the same Euphane, being only child and heiress to her father, brought into the family of Craigie Wallace, where they still continue. He had two sons, William and Thomas, and four daughters; the first, Agnes, married Sir Adam Blair of Carberrie, in Midlothian, the second, Elizabeth, married the Laird of Halyards in Fifeshire, chief of his name, the third, Euphane, married Drummond Earle of Melford, principal Secretary of State to King James the Seventh, who bore him children, the fourth, Grissel, married Patrick Kininmont of that Ilk, chief of the name; she bore him one daughter, named Grissel, first married to Sir Alexander Murray of Melgund, Baronet, in the shire of Angus, thereafter to the Honourable Thomas Kennedy of Dunaure, Esquire, in the shire of Air, Lord Advocate to her late Majesty Queen Anne, now one of the Honourable Barons in his Majestie's Exchequer in Scotland.

XVII. Sir William Wallace of Craigie, Baronet, succeeded to his father Sir Thomas. He maried Menzies, daughter of Menzies of Pitfoodells, in Aberdeenshire, by whom he had one daughter. He was a very loyal gentleman, and had the honour to command a regiment of cavalry under King James the Seventh, and, when that Prince retired to France, Sir William followed him, and constantly adhered to his interest as long as he lived, whereby his estate suffered not a little.

XVIII. Sir Thomas Wallace of Craigie, Baronet, succeeded to his brother Sir William. He married Dame Rachel Wallace, daughter to Sir Hew Wallace of Wolmet, by whome he had four sons, Thomas, William, John, and Hew; the three last died without issue.

XIX. Sir Thomas Wallace of Craigie, Baronet, succeeded to his father Sir Thomas. He married, first, Eleanor Agnew, only daughter to Colonel Agnew of Lochryan and Croach, by whom he had one son, who died without issue, and a daughter, Frances, who was married to John Dunlop of Dunlop.* John Dunlop of Dunlop had issue by his wife, Frances Wallace,

XX. Sir Thomas, who succeeded his grandfather, and married, first, Eglinton Maxwell, daughter of Sir William Maxwell, Bart. of Monreith, by whom he had issue, Thomas, who died young, and,

XXI. Sir John Alexander Agnew, the present Baronet, is a Lieutenant-

* The Dunlops of Dunlop deduce from Dominus Gulielmus de Dunlop, who was settled in the property in the reign of Alexander the Third, about 1260.

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General in the army, Knight Commander of the Bath, Knight of the Turkish Order of the Crescent, and Colonel of the 88th Regiment of Foot. He served with distinction in India, Egypt, and the Peninsula. He married, in 1829, Janet, daughter of William Rodger, Esq. of Glasgow, by whom he had issue,

William, born 1830.
Alexander, born 1831, died 1839.
George Gordon, born 1833.
Robert, born 1834.
Agnes, born 1838, and
Francis James, born 1840.

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THE WALLACE PAPERS.

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SELECTION OF PAPERS

ILLUSTRATIVE OF THE

HISTORY OF SIR WILLIAM WALLACE.

I.

EXTRACTS FROM THE COTTONIAN MANUSCRIPT
CLAUD. D. VI. fol. 163.

Mox idem Johannes infignitus diademate in Scotiam maturavit; Scoti autem volentes nolentes illum ut regem animo turgenti molefte fufceperunt. Illico omnes famulos fuos de fua notitia et natione fummoverunt, et alios ignotos fibi ad fuam miniftrationem deputarunt; regium nomen ei ægre impofuerunt, non fpontanea voluntate, fed coacti, et regium officium ei penitus abftulerunt, dicentes mutue, Nolumus hunc regnare fuper nos. Ille autem fimplex et idiota, quafi mutus et elinguis, comperta fuperftitiofa feditione Scottorum, non aperuit os fuum; timuit enim ferale rabiem illius populi, ne eum fame attenuarent, aut carcerali cuftodia manciparent. Sic degebat inter eos anno integro, quafi agnus inter lupos. Rex itaque Edwardus voti compos effectus in Angliam remeavit, quia, dominante invidia, incepit guerra inter ipfum et regem Franciæ Philippum.

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QUOMODO SCOTI ELEGERUNT SIBI DUODECIM PARES, SPRETO REGIS PROPRII CONSILIO.

Succedente tempore, collectis undique Scottorum primatibus, concilium fecerunt in unum adverſus regem ſuum et adverſus Chriſtum ejus. Illico eligerunt duodecim Pares, ſecundum conſuetudinem Galliæ, qui populo præeſſent et regnum terræ diſponerent. In omnibus his prædictus Johannes de Balliolo, rex terræ nuncupatus et præordinatus, non aperuit os ſuum. Anno igitur primo regni ſui completo, præordinaverunt duodecim Pares, ut ipſe perſonaliter ad Parliamentum regis Angliæ accederet, et ſecundum compoſitionem, quæ facta erat inter eos, legitime obediret. Proceſſu temporis idem rex nuncupatus Scotiæ verſus Londonias cum parvo comitatu iter arripuit ad Parliamentum regis Angliæ ſegniter; et, quod inopinabile et cunctis diſcretis incredibile eſt, inconſulto rege Angliæ, et omnibus qui aderant ignorantibus, clam diſceſſit, ſecrete aufugit, ad non modicum ſuis ipſius dedecus et opprobrium ſempiternum. Quod cum regi Edwardo a referentibus divulgatum eſt, ſtupefactus eſt, cogitans intra ſe cauſam ſuæ fatuæ præſumtionis et evaſionis. Mox juſſit omnia bona ſua mobilia et immobilia, villas et maneria, quæ habebat in Anglia, confiſcari, et in manibus ſuis capi, miniſtros ejus ab omni officio ſubmoveri, balivos ſuos ſubſtitui. Mox idem rex Scotiæ in Scotiam feſtinavit. Deinde, ſecundo anno regni ſui, ipſe et duodecim Pares, quos principales totius Scotiæ eligerant ad tuendum regnum, et omnes alii, ad eorum infortunium, bellum contra regem Angliæ, cujus poteſtati ſe unanimiter ante ſubmiſerant et fidelitatem juraverant, totis viribus ſuis moverunt, et ideo dominus rex Angliæ Edwardus, relicto tranſfretorio imperfecto, quod facere debuiſſet contra inimicos ſuos, ad partes Gallicanas, ad Scotos vexillo erecto iter cum ſuis arripuit. Mox Berwico applicuit, quem ſibi ſubdere deſideravit. Applicanti autem ſibi rex Scotiæ nuncupativus cum innumerabili gente Scotorum obvius ei venit, contra præcipuum dominum ſuum bellaturus.

EXPROBRATIO SCOTORUM.

Confeſtim unus e Scotis alta voce cepit convicia et verba probroſa regi Angliæ inferre patria lingua :

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"Kyng Edward!
wanne þu haueſt Berwic,
pike þe!
wanne þu haueſt geten,
dike þe!

Nec mora; capta eſt civitas .vij. idus Aprilis, per Edwardum regem Angliæ, et ſine difficultate ſtatim intravit cum toto exercitu ſuo; gens illa nuda et inermis miſere lacerata occubuit, ceciderunt quemadmodum folia arborum in autumno, nec ſolum ſuperſtitem in civitate de Scotis inventum reliquit gladius regis; tandem ſuos divina pietas victoria decoravit, Scotos infideles cæde ſimul et fuga dehoneſtavit, nimio terrore perculſi fugerunt, dicentes, "Fugiamus hinc, quia non eſt Deus nobiſcum." In illo conflictu miſerabili tantam gratiam contulit Anglicanis divinæ potentiæ magnificientia quod nec unus ex illis occubuit, niſi tantum Ricardus frater comitis Cornubiæ, qui ex incuria levavit galeam ſuam ſtolide, ut videret Scotos fugientes, unde quidam ex eis inopinate emiſit jaculum et percuſſit eum in fronte nuda, et ſtatim mortuus eſt. Mox rex Edwardus ira commotus, quaſi aper a canibus inſecutus, juſſit nemini parcere. Nulli fuit cura de humatione cadaverum occiſorum, incedebant ſuper corpora proſtrata tanquam ſuper arenam; tandem ne fœtor cadaverum totam civitatem corrumperet, et nares circumſtantium exacerbaret, viſum eſt Vicenariis ut corpora defunctorum in mare, ſeu in profundis puteis, projicerent, quod factum fuit.

Rex igitur Edwardus, potita victoria, vacavit delere gentem Scotorum, incommutabili ſævitiæ indulgens. Cumque nulli, prout reperiebatur, parceret, convenerunt omnes Eccleſiaſtici viri et Religioſi miſerandæ patriæ, cum omni clero ſibi ſubdito, reliquias Sanctorum et eccleſiaſtica ſacra nudis ferentes pedibus, miſericordiam regis pro ſalute populi ſui imploraturi; mox ut præſentiam ipſius habuerunt, flexis genibus deprecati ſunt, ut pietatem ſuper contrita gente haberet. Satis enim periculi intulerat, nec erat opus perpaucos qui remanſerant uſque ad unum delere, ſineret illos portiunculam habere patriæ, perpetuæ ſervitatis jugum ultro geſtaturos.

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Cumque regem in hunc modum[a] rogaviſſent, commovit eum pietas in lacrimas, ſanctorumque virorum petitioni adquieſcens, veniam donavit, a perſecutione ceſſavit.

QUALITER REX EDWARDUS JUSSIT FODERE FOSSAM INTER BERWICUM ET SCOTOS.

Rex autem, non immemor illuſionis et improperii Scotorum, juſſit fodi profundam foſſam inter Scotos et Berwicum, et omnes e finibus depulit, atque plebem ſuam a tam atroci dilaceratione liberavit, ad quos juſſit conſtruere foſſam profundam inter Berwicum et Scotos, ut eſſet arcendis hoſtibus a turba inſtructa terrori, civibus vero tutamini. Collecto igitur privato et publico ſumtu, incumbunt indigenæ operi, et foveam perficiunt; et, ut dicebatur, ipſemet cum vehiculo terram portabat, ut foveam accumularet, et accumulando exaltaret; deinde magnos palos et longos infigi fecit in ſummitate foveæ, ut impediret introitum Scotorum.

QUOMODO CASTRUM DE DUNBAR OBSESSUM FUIT AB ANGLICIS.

Eodem tempore rege Edwardo tertio adhuc in Berwico moram trahente, caſtrum de Dunbar obſeſſum fuit ab Anglicanis, et quarto die ſequenti acceſſerunt octingenti Scoti armati, et quadraginta milia peditum in ſubſidium obſeſſorum; ſed Anglici, relictis circa caſtrum quadraginta armatis cum eorum ſequacibus ad cuſtodiendum obſeſſos, illis dederunt obviam, et Scotos ſine ictu in fugam converſos perſecuti ſunt, et octoginta armatos et octo milia peditum occiderunt. In craſtino autem acceſſit Edwardus rex Angliæ ad caſtrum, et omnes Scoti obſeſſi in caſtro, ſcilicet, comes de Mentet, comes de Auteel, dominus Johannes Comin, junior, dominus Willelmus de Sayncler et filius ſuus, dominus Willelmus de Moref et filius ejus, dominus Ricardus Suard, ac multi alii, ſe voluntati regis Angliæ ſubmiſerunt; et in brevi poſtea rex Scotiæ et omnes majores natu de regno Scotiæ ad regem Angliæ venerunt, et pacem, ſalvis vita et membris, amiſſo jure hereditario, habuerunt. Deinde rex Angliæ, bellicoſis ferociſſimus et humilibus manſuetiſſimus, Johannem de Balliolo, regem Scotiæ, et quoſdam alios in ſua cuſtodia retinuit,

[a] The MS. reads "mundum."

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quoſdam libere abire permiſit, et quibuſdam hereditatem prius amiſſam conceſſit. Hi omnes juraverunt ei iterum debitam domino fidelitatem in dolo, quod tamen juramentum diu non duravit; egreſſi ſinguli a facie regis, valedicentes regi. Tunc dominus Johannes de Balliolo, rex Scotiæ, miſſus eſt cum cuſtodibus in Turrim Londonienſem, data venia Scotorum populo. Rex Edwardus commiſit cuſtodiam totius Scotiæ comitibus Warrenniæ et Patricio de Marchia, et aliis duobus, deinde Londonias maturavit expeditius, quia oporteret eum Gallicanas partes adire, pro magnis et arduis negotiis expendis. Rex igitur, cum Londonias adventaſſet, et Johannem de Balliolo, quem regem Scotiæ conſtituiſſet, claro intuitu conſpiciſſet, cogitabat et mutuo loquebatur eum plexiſſe ſupplicio, tum quod eſſet regis ſui et domini proditor, tum quod inobediens et perjurus. Mox ille corruit ad pedes regis cum lacrimis petens miſericordiam ſuper his offenſis, inſtantiſſime poſtulans ut daretur ei copia reſpondendi ſeipſum excuſando. Dominus autem rex, ut erat pius et miſericors, exemplo Salvatoris miſericordiam anteponens judicio, ſic orſus eſt fari regi Scotiæ, "Dic manifeſto quod animo concepiſti." Mox juravit coram rege Edwardo[b] et primatibus ſuis, quod nuſquam ex quo rex Scotiæ ab eo ordinatus fuiſſet, poſt ejus abceſſum, nec uno die privilegio regiæ dignitatis gaudebat; verum etiam inſidias et Scotorum machinationes verebatur, et per conſequens oportebat eum aut mori, vel eorum incompoſitas voluntates æmulari; "Et ideo vi me compellabant contra vos, dominum meum et regem, calcitrare." Ad quem rex cum ſolito juramento modeſte reſpondit, "Hoc bene credo." Confeſtim miſericordia motus veniam et pacem donavit, tandem non modicum poſt permiſit eum peragrare ſpatiandi gratia ubicum ei placeret per viginti miliaria extra civitatem Londoniarum, adjunctis cuſtodibus; et ille, inclinato capite, gratias agens domino regi, promiſit ſe fidelem in obſequio ſuo manſurum dum viveret. Totus annus ille aſperitate guerræ inhorruit, et etiam ſecundus inter Anglos et Scotos. Denique rex Angliæ munitiones, quæ potiſſimum partibus ſuſpectis nocebant, ſtrenue debellabat, nec minor erat ei animus adeundi quæ ſibi competebant munia, qui nullam occaſionem prætermittebat, quo minus ſæpe et adverſarios propulſaret et ſua defenderet;

[b] Edwardum, MS.

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adverſarios dico, quia primitus principem Walliæ Leoninum, quo devicto, David fratrem ſuum,[c] qui nefanda proditione molitus eſt eum infeſtare; deinde regem Franciæ, cum fratre ſuo Karolo et duodecim Paribus, poſſeſſiones et ſuas injuſte et præſumtuoſe invadentes et vindicantes, hoc enim imponebant ei licitum, ſed falſo; deinde et noviſſime Scotos jam tertio eum inquietantes, quaſi ſimul et ſemel. Deus autem, qui ſuperbis reſiſtitit, a quo robur, fortitudo et magnanimitas procedit, illi gratiæ ſuæ munus contulit, ubi magna ſtrage hoſtium patrata, clariſſime triumphavit. Contrivit autem Dominus infideles hoſtes ſuos contritione magna, et ex eis innumerabilia milia, tam bello campeſtri quam navali, mors cruenta devoravit.

COMMENDATIO REGIS ANGLIÆ.

Erat enim Edwardus[d] fortis pede, fortior equo, et ad regendum exercitum doctus, tales probitates ipſius, dum adhuc in Terra Sancta[e] moraretur, fama aſſiduis volatibus detulerat; cui tantam gratiam Salvator contulit, ut a cunctis fere populis timeretur et amaretur, ut de eo adaptari poterit quod de Iſmaele legitur, "Manus ejus contra omnes, et manus omnium contra eum."

QUOMODO COMES FLANDRIÆ PETIIT AUXILIUM REGIS ANGLIÆ CONTRA INCURSUM REGIS FRANCIÆ, QUI EUM IMPUGNARE NITEBATUR.[f]

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QUOMODO EDWARDUS REX ANGLIÆ SE PARAVIT IN SUBSIDIUM COMITIS FLANDRIÆ.[g]

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BELLUM DE STRIVELYN.

Interea, non multum poſt, eodem anno, Scoti, audito nuncio quod rex Edwardus cum nuda manu et parvo comitatu Flandriam intraſſet, deinde

[c] Suun, MS. [d] Edwardum, MS.

[e] After "sancta" a coeval hand has inserted the word "dum" above the line.

[f] [g] The chapters, of which the rubrics are here given, are omitted as not bearing upon the subject.

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in Galliam, desperati sui reditus, incunctanter et plus solito, jam secundo, irruere in Anglicanos præsumserunt. Ad pontem de Strivelin comiti Warrenniæ, quem rex Edwardus constituerat Custodem Scotiæ, dederunt insultum; et comite cum suis, propter urgentem necessitatem, in fugam conversо, dominum Hugonem de Cressingham, Thesaurarium deputatum in Scotia, et quosdam alios fere usque ad centum ibidem captos, interemerunt, scientes se non habere obstaculum ratione absentiæ regis tunc in Flandria moram trahentis. Denique quatuor comites Angliæ, densata caterva incedentes, impetum Scotorum per strictum locum incedentes, nescii quos dolos versuti hostes instituerant, cum vero præterire incepissent, egressi ex improviso[h] Scoti ipsos, nihil tale præmeditantes, occupaverunt et penetraverunt. At illi, tametsi ex improviso occupati et dissipati fuissent, tandem tamen resociatis catervis, resumtis viribus virilitur resistunt. Tandem Scoti congressus Anglicanorum ferre non valentes, ocius campum relinquentes, fugam inierunt, usi montium auxilio in nemorum densitate delituerunt.

QUOMODO REX EDWARDUS HABUIT MEDIETATEM ANGLIÆ.[i]

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QUOMODO PETRUS DE MAROIN AD APICEM APOSTOLATUS EST ELECTUS.[k]

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QUOMODO BONEFACIUS OCTAVUS MISIT DUOS CARDINALES, UNUM IN FRANCIAM ET ALIUM IN ANGLIAM, UT GUERRAM INTER DICTOS REGES EXORTAM ADNIHILANTES, PACEM ET VERAM CONCORDIAM REFORMARENT.[l]

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QUALITER SCOTI JAM TERTIO CEPERUNT INQUIETARE ET INFESTARE PRÆCIPUUM DOMINUM SUUM EDWARDUM REGEM ANGLIÆ, SOLITA INFIDELITATE UTENTES.

Quia odiosa gens pondere in manum scelerum oppressa, quia semper

[h] "Ex inproso," MS.

[i] [k] [l] Omitted; they are to be found upon fol. 166, b. of the manuscript.

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civilia prœlia ſitiens de domeſticis et patriotis in tantum debilitatis et neci traditis, qui cum prius ſemetipſos ex decreto et juſtitia dictante, regiæ poteſtati regis Angliæ Edwardi ſubjugaſſent, et eidem, ut principali domino homagium fecerent et debitam fidelitatem juraverunt, et ſeipſos una cum rege ſuo ſubdiderunt; nunc velut bona vinea degenerata in amaritudinem verſa, dominum principalem jam tertio præſumunt inquietare et infeſtare; ſuæ ſalutis tam corporis quam animæ immemores, parum intelligentes illud Evangelicum "Omne regnum in ſe diviſum deſolabitur, et domus ſupra domum cadet," regnum eorum in ſe diviſum fuit, quia furor eorum et civilis diſcordiæ et livoris fumus mentem eorum hebetavit. Verum quia ſuperbia eorum regi Angliæ obedientiam ferre non permiſit, idcirco patriam deſolatam conſpiciunt, domos etiam ſupra domos ruentes, quod poſteri eorum in futurum lugebunt. Videbunt enim Anglicanos oppida, civitates atque ceteras eorum poſſeſſiones obtinere, ex quibus miſere expulſi et neci inopinatæ traditi prioris dignitatis ſtatum vel nunquam vel vix recuperabunt, propter eorum ſuperbiam et rebellionem. Edwardo namque reverſo in auſtrales regni ſui partes, verſuti Scoti et fallaces, reſociatis ſibi ſociis qui remanſerant, omnes communi aſſenſu quemdam progenie ignobilem, nomine Willelmum le Waleis, elegerunt in eorum ducem et conquæſtorem, ut iterum contra regem Angliæ bella moverent fruſtra.

QUALITER SCOTI ELEGERUNT WILLELMUM LE WALEIS IN DUCEM EORUM ET CONQUÆSTOREM.

Eodem tempore fuit in Scotia quidam juvenis, Willelmus le Waleis nomine, ſagittarius, qui arcu et pharetra victum quærebat, de infima progenie et exili ortus et educatus. Cum audaciam ſuam in multis locis examinaſſet, ut mos eſt virorum fortium, petivit a Scotis licentiam ut Anglicanis poſſet obviare, nec non eorum exercitui reſiſtere, ut ei auxilium impenderent, et eorum exercitum tueretur; illis cum juramento pollicendo, quod ſi ſibi licentia congrediendi cum illis committeretur, promittebat ſe totam Angliam adepturum, et eos uſque Londonias perducturum, et ſic in manu forti ſibi totum regnum Angliæ manciparet. Cumque fatuitati ſuæ nec non inordinatæ præſumtioni indulgeret, et brutalem

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exercitum Scotorum promiſſionibus ſuis vanis et fraudulentis illuſiſſet, factus eſt voti compos. Illico omnes Scoti dictum Willelmum le Waleis, progenie ignobilem, elegerunt et conſtituerunt ducem et conquæſtorem ſuper exercitum illorum. Mox, collectis Scotis, adhæſerunt ei a minimo uſque ad maximum; unde quidam comes de illa natione præcipuus dictum Willelmum militari balteo præcinxit faciens de prædone militem, tanquam de corvo cignum; unde verſus,

Accipit indignus ſedem cui non prior dignus.

Deinde ingreſſus eſt Berwicum, circuivit provinciam Scotiæ, poſtea totam Northumbriam, et maximum tumultum per provincias faciendo, agros populando, civitates et opida complanando, incolis omnia ſua tam igne quam deprædatione eripiendo. Sic igitur ipſo agente, ſtultitia ſua incompoſita ipſum ſuadente, confluebant ad ipſum omnes Scoti et ſinguli utriuſque ſexus a puberta ætate uſque ad ſenium, ita ut in brevi tantum haberet exercitum quantum nullus princeps, ſecundum eorum opinionem, poſſet reſiſtere. Ob hoc itaque tumidum habens animum cepit Anglicanos inquietare, et auſus fuit contra præcipuum dominum ſuum bella movere, ad ſuam perniciem et totius Scotiæ ignominioſam confuſionem. Quod cum regi Angliæ Edwardo nunciatum fuiſſet, demiſſis deinde quinque menſibus, paravit exercitum ſuum ut Scotis obviaret, ut brutam et præſumtuoſam eorum temeritatem attenuaret.

QUOMODO REX EDWARDUS PARAVIT SE CONTRA SCOTOS.

Anno ab incarnatione Domini milleſimo .cc. nonageſimo octavo, qui eſt annus regni regis Edwardi .xxvj., idem rex ſe paraverat non inerta cohorte virorum bellatorum, ut audaciam Scotorum opprimeret. Eodem tempore paſchali apud Berwicum cum tota fortitudine ſua applicuit; mox intravit abſque obſtaculo, quia Scoti fugerant, audito regis adventu, nimio terrore perculſi. Deinde proſecutus eſt eos, et in feſto Mariæ Magdalenæ proximo ſequente commiſit bellum apud Faukurke, ibi maximam ſtragem hoſtium ſuorum commiſit, quam non poterant vivi humare; videlicet, fere centum milia.

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QUOMODO WILLELMUS LE WALEIS ORDINAVIT EXERCITUM SUUM IN BELLO.

Willelmus le Waleis conſtruxerat ſepem inter exercitum ſuum et Anglicanos, longos palos et non modicos in terram fixit, et cum funibus et cordis illaqueavit ad modum ſepis, ut congreſſum et egreſſum Anglicanorum impediret. Deinde convocatis catervis ſuis, omnem populum pedeſtrem in primo concurſu compellebat intrare; dicens illis patria lingua, —"Hij haue pult ou into a gamen, hoppet yif ye kunnet," quaſi dicat, "Jam introduxi vos in foveam et periculi diſcrimen, reſilite ſi poteritis, ut ſalvemini." Ipſe autem, non ut princeps, ſed ut ſeductor aufugit; nam exercitus principe carens, et diſciplinæ militaris ignarus, aut ante congreſſionem dilabitur, aut in ipſo conflictu facile decidet; valet multum in bellis ducis præſentia, valet ſpectata in talibus audacia, valet uſus, et maxime diſciplina. Quibus, ut dixi, carens Willelmus le Waleis, et per conſequens nihil valens, ſed populum ſeducens. Nam facilius eſt accipitrem ex milvo fieri, quam ex ruſtico ſubito eruditum; et qui profundam doctrinam ei infundit, facit ac ſi margaritas inter porcos ſpargeret. Rex autem, cum vidiſſet tantam multitudinem populi pedeſtris et inermis, erant enim in triplo plures Scoti quam Angli, ſed ſine ordine et armis incedentes, ſtatim rex juſſit Walenſibus, qui cum rege venerant fere ad decem milia, ut Scotos expugnarent, qui nolentes ſed continuo diffugerunt, nec tamen Scotis nocuerunt, dolum præmeditantes; ſemper enim necis parentum ſuorum memores, quam idem rex anno elapſo intulerat, æterno illum habebunt odio. Unde tunc temporis ſuſpicabatur ab Anglicis, quod ſi rex deteriorem partem belli pateretur, quibus etiam nugis Walenſis incitati, ſi fas libito conceſſiſſet, vindictam ſumere niterentur. Mox illis talia præmeditantibus, compeſcuit eos miſeratio divina, qui non derelinquit ſperantes in ſe. Deinde cognita malitia Walenſium, quidam Anglicanus ſic regem affatur;

"Rex Edwarde! fidem
Si des Wallenſibus, erras,
Ut dederas pridem;
Sed eorum diripe terras."

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Diſtulerunt tamen Walenſes ne Scotos expugnarent, donec, rege triumphante, Scoti undique corruerunt quomodo flores arborum, maturacente fructu; tunc ait rex, "Si Dominus nobiſcum, quis contra nos?" Statim Walenſes irruerunt in Scotos, eos proſternendo in tantum ut terram operirent cadavera eorum, tanquam nix in hyeme. Ceciderunt in illo bello de Scotis fere centum milia de paupere vulgo. Conceſſit ergo Deus fortunam belli ſe credentibus, et inenarrabilem contritionem ſe contemtuentibus. Rex itaque Edwardus victor clariſſimus extitit; Willelmus Waleis et Majores Scotiæ, cum vidiſſent ſe regi Angliæ minime reſiſtere, et tantam ſtragem populo ſuo accidiſſe, mutuo dixerunt, "Recedamus hinc, non enim eſt Deus nobiſcum!" Continuo cogente timore fugerunt, et ad oppida et nemora, et ad omnem locum, ubi tutum putabant refugium, dilituerunt. Mulieres vero, acceptis parvulis ſuis et ſupellectilibus, per partes maritimas evaſerunt, parato navigio ingrediuntur mare, tendentes quo ſors illos conduceret. Demum cum vela prætendiſſent, inſurrexerunt venti contrarii, et navigia eorum diſſipaverunt, et in ictu oculi infra maria periclitaverunt.

QUOMODO WILLELMUS LE WALEIS CUM QUINQUE MILITIBUS FUGIT AD PARTES GALLICANAS.

Tunc temporis Willelmus le Waleis cum quinque militibus partes Gallicanas petiit, petens et poſtulans auxilium a rege Franciæ. Cumque perveniſſet ad civitatem Amiens, ſtatim denunciatum eſt regi Franciæ quod inimicus regis Angliæ illuc adventaſſet; mox juſſit eum teneri et ſub carcerali cuſtodia obſervari, quod gratanter et lætiſſime gentes illius civitates, ſcilicet Amiens, compleverunt, quod multum diligebant regem Angliæ. Tunc rex Franciæ miſit epiſtolam regi Angliæ, dicens, ſi acceptaret, ut mitteret ei Willelmum le Waleis, conquæſtorem Scotiæ; qui reſcripſit ei multipliciter regratiando, et inſtantiſſime poſtulando ut permitteret eum cum ſuis apud Amiens ſub cuſtodia poſſeſſiones ſuas expenderet, quod factum eſt.

QUOMODO EDWARDUS REX REDIIT IN ANGLIAM, DEVICTIS SCOTIS.

Cumque regi Edwardo victoria ceſſiſſet, Scotis devictis, voluit commi-

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litonibus ſuis de dicta Scotia portionem dare, uni villam, alteri caſtellum, et ſic de ſingulis, et ut conjuges de Anglia adducerent, ut ex eis heredes naſcerentur qui terram illam perpetuo poſſiderent, et ut nullam commixtionem cum Scotis de cetero ulterius facerent. Demum cum univerſas provincias Scotiæ rex Edwardus defæcaſſet, nec non ſuæ deditioni ſubjugaſſet, munivit caſtellum de Strivelin militibus Northumbriæ cum ſufficienti ſuſtentatione unius anni; ipſe vero in Angliam repetavit. Digreditur rex, digrediuntur et proceres, exceptis illis quibus tutela Scotiæ commendabatur. Proceſſu temporis Scoti prædictum caſtellum obſidebant diutina obſidione, fodientes circumque foveam profundam, introitum et exitum eorum impedientem. Tandem conſumtis omnibus victui neceſſariis, obſeſſi Anglicani ſe voluntati Scotorum commiſerunt, ſalvis eis vita et membris, quia ſic oportuit eſſe, cogente neceſſitate, nec non rege Edwardo permittente, oportebat illis aut reddere caſtellum aut fame mori, quia jam conſumſerant vitæ neceſſaria.

QUALITER BONEFACIUS PAPA NITEBATUR PACIFICARE REGEM FRANCIÆ ET ANGLIÆ.

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QUOMODO PAPA BONEFACIUS MISIT EDWARDO REGI ANGLIÆ, UT EI MITTERET JOHANNEM DE BALLIOLO, QUONDAM REGEM SCOTIÆ.

Emiſſis deinde aliquot diebus, quidam pontifex Romanus a latere domini Papæ miſſus, in Angliam applicuit, litteras papales regi Angliæ Edwardo porrexit, quarum tenor erat, ut viſis litteris, ſtatim ei tranſmitteret Johannem de Balliolo, quondam regem Scotiæ. Mox reſpondit Edwardus rex [ut] tanquam ſeductorem, falſarium, et perjuratum illum mitteret; ad quem epiſcopus Romanus regi reſpondit, "Pro tali illum admitto, et ſummo pontifici repreſentabo." Sine mora dictus epiſcopus cum Johanne [de] Balliolo verſus Doveram iter arripuit, deinde vix unam navim nactus, ut eam fortuna conduxerat, Gallicana litora expetiunt. Cumque ciſtæ dicti Johannis de Balliolo in navim collocarentur, una cum ciſtis et ſupellectili Romani epiſcopi, quidam de circumſtantibus, cui cura major de navi, ſiſcitabatur cui erant ciſtæ cum contentis, reſpon-

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dit, "Domini Johannis de Balliolo," at ille dixit, "Volo videre quidnam contineant." Confeſtim apertæ ſunt, in quibus inventa fuit regia corona Scotiæ aurea, et ſigillum Scotiæ commune, et multa vaſa aurea et argentea, et numiſma non modicum, quæ omnia regi Angliæ ſtatim delata ſunt. Rex autem coronam auream offeri juſſit beato Thomæ Cantuarienſi archiepiſcopo, ſigillum vero Scotiæ juſſit ſervari; numiſma totaliter remiſit dicto Johanni ad viaticum itineris. Quod cum vidiſſet epiſcopus Romanus ductor ſuus, multum commendabat ſapientiam et civilitatem domini regis, dicens ſapientiam Salomonis eſſe in eo. Deinde dimiſit dictum Johannem de Balliolo in quodam caſtello Cambriæ cuſtodiendum, amotis omnibus miniſtris ſuis, de ipſo tractaturus coram ſummo pontifice, quid de ipſo agendum eſſet.

QUOMODO REX EDWARDUS TENUIT PARLIAMENTUM SUUM DIE HOKEDAY.

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QUOMODO BONEFACIUS PAPA ITERATO MISIT EPISTOLAM REGI FRANCIÆ PHILIPPO ET REGI ANGLIÆ EDWARDO, UT EOS PACIFICARET.

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DE ADVENTU NOVÆ REGINÆ IN ANGLIAM.

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DE DISPOSITIONE MAGNATUM IN SOLLEMNITATE DESPONSATIONIS.

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REX TENUIT PARLIAMENTUM SUUM APUD WESTMONASTERIUM.

Die autem Omnium Sanctorum approximante, rex et regina, convocatis epiſcopo Norwicenſi et abbate Sancti Albani et comite de Surriea, et aliis non paucis, apud Langeleiam ſollemnitatem Omnium Sanctorum cum laude digniſſima, ut decuit, celebrarunt; et in craſtino, ſcilicet, die Animarum, venit dominus rex ad Sanctum Albanum, qui unius tantum noctis ibidem moram trahens, et in craſtino ſummo mane, audito divino ſervitio, nec non Miſſa de beato martyre Albano ſollemniter celebrata,

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conventu quoque ornanter redimito, venit cum ſuis nobilibus ibidem devotius oraturus. Quibus ſub martyre proſtratis, cantatum eſt ſollemniter ſpeciale canticum de Beati Albini memoria, memoria itineris domini regis ſubſequente, circumſtante vero cum conventu, non modico populo. Factoque inter eos ſilentio, ipſemet rex expoſuit adventus ſui cauſam, dicens, "Idcirco huc veni devotus, a martyre glorioſo Albano licentiam et auxilium, a præſenti conventu et populo orationum humiliter petiturus beneficium. Oportet me in Scotiam ire, ut inimicorum noſtrorum Scotorum temerariam præſumtionem compeſcam, fortunæ ignarus penitus et reditus." Cui confeſtim conceditur ab omnibus et ſingulis, quouſque proſpera illius audiatur regreſſio, Miſſarum ac orationum ſpecialis et quotidiana devotio; quibus rex cum ſuis humiliter regratians, et ſic devotior cum fiducia hilariori mox verſus Scotiam iter arripuit.

SPECIALIS ORATIO IN CONVENTU.

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II.

EXTRACTS FROM THE "FLORES HISTORIARUM" OF MATTHEW OF WESTMINSTER.[m]

ANNO gratiæ m.ccxciiij. Edwardus rex Angliæ tenuit parliamentum ſuum apud Weſtmonaſterium poſt feſtum Pentecoſtes; cui aderant Johannes rex Scotiæ et omnes magnates Angliæ, ubi recitabantur in auditu ibidem exiſtentium motiones et continuationes hujus guerræ, inſuper legationes et ſponſiones pacis Angliæ reformandæ. In quo etiam unuſquiſque legatorum domini regis, pro poſſe ſuo, manum ſuum expoſuit bona fide; denique in hoc aſſentiunt omnes recuperare Vaſconiam vi et armis. Tunc rex Scotiæ conceſſit regi Angliæ per triennium omnes terras ſuas, quæ ſibi jure hereditario competebant in regno Angliæ, in ſubſidium Vaſconiæ adipiſcendæ, regno Scotiæ ſolummodo contentus. Ceterique comites et magnates de facultatibus ſuis auxilium pollicentur. 1294.

Menſe Martio, primo die menſis, rex Eadwardus apud Novum Caſtrum ſuper Tinam exercitum fortem adunavit, ad Scottorum injuriam expugnandam, proponens eis tria, aut ejus cenſuræ pati ſe ultro ſubmittere, aut a terra ſua exulare, aut ad campeſtre bellum ſe parare. Ipſi vero, præpoſito ſalubri conſilio, prœlium elegerunt. 1295.

Eodem anno Johannes, rex Scotiæ, homagii et fidelitatis ſuæ immemor, deſtinatis ad regem Francorum nunciis, Gulielmo Sancti Andreæ et

[m] These extracts are made from the Edition of 1570, corrected by an early manuscript in the Cottonian MS. Nero D, ii.

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1295. Gulielmo Dunkeldienſi epiſcopis, Johanne de Sules et Ingelramo de Umfrevile, militibus, rege Eadwardo tunc exiſtente in Flandria, clam contra regem Angliæ fœdus iniit, petens in affirmationem negotii matrimonium contrahi inter filium ſuum Eadwardum ac nobilem puellam Johannam filiam Charoli, germani regis Francorum, ſpondens ſe velle regem Angliæ totis viribus impugnare, et a guerra cum rege Franciæ impedire, ſicut in ſcriptis inter utroſque reges confectis plenius continetur. Per quos, ut in hanc conſentirent proditionem, fuit inductus rex Angliæ a rege Scottorum, ignorans proditionem, cum auxilium petiſſet pro guerra ſua inſtanter, et ſibi reſponderetur in dubium, ſuſpectum habens negotium, rogavit ut ob ſecuritatem uſque ad finem guerræ ſuæ tria caſtra, videlicet, Berwici, Edinburgiæ, Rokeſburgiæ, traderentur in manus ſuas, quæ poſt guerram ſuam reſtitueret, ſi eos ſibi comperiſſet fideles. Quod cum Scotti facere renuiſſent, rex de proditione eorum certior, cum exercitu ſuo verſus Scotiam progreſſus, diſpoſuit eam vi ſubjicere, niſi ab iis quæ referebantur deſiſterent, et quæ jam in opere oſtendebantur ſe poſſint legitime excuſare.

1296. Anno gratiæ m.ccxcvj. tertio kalendas Aprilis, villa et caſtro de Berewico per magnificum regem Angliæ Eadwardum captis, omnes ibidem inventos Angli gladio occiderunt, paucis exceptis, qui ipſam villam poſtmodum abjurarunt. Hominum autem Scottorum promiſcui ſexus peremtorum ſexaginta milia referuntur. Octavo idus Aprilis rex Scottorum Johannes, pro ſe et Scottis omnibus, tenentibus terram in Anglia quamcunque, homagium debitum regi Angliæ reddidit per ſcripturam. Rege vero Anglorum apud Berwicum, pro fortificatione foſſarum[n] ac murorum villæ ejuſdem morante, Scoti, ſcilicet domini de Ros, de Meneteith,[o] et de Aſceles,[p] comites, et dominus Ricardus Syward, Wilielmus de Sancto Claro, Johannes Comyn filius Johannis Comyn,[q] Wilielmus de Moncref,[r] et Radulphus frater ejus, barones, et alii quamplures milites, Angliam ingreſſi, villas de Correbrigge[s] et Hecleſham[t] combuſſerunt,[u]

[n] Reparatione et fortificatione foſſatorum, N.
[o] Menethet, N.
[p] Haſtele, N.
[q] Comitis de Badenhaghe, N.
[r] Morrser, N.
[s] Correbrugge, N.
[t] Higliclesham, N.
[u] "Et Prioratum ejusdem," added in N.

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homines, mulieres et parvulos, ſine delectu conditionis humanæ, occidendo. Qui regreſſi in Scotiam una cum domino Roberto de Ketingham,[v] quem rex Franciæ illo[w] anno cingulo cinxerat militari,[x] caſtrum Patricii, comitis de Dunbar, regis Angliæ conſtantis amici, tunc temporis cum eodem exiſtentis,[y] acriter obſederunt. Ipſi autem in dicto caſtro cuſtodes, ſimulate a rege Angliæ implorantes auxilium, interim dictum caſtrum Scotis in vigilia Sancti Georgii reddiderunt. Quo comperto, rex Angliæ in craſtino die duo milia coopertorum equorum, cum .xl. vexillis, et multos pedites, ad prædictum caſtrum,[z] pro oppreſſione hujuſmodi removenda, mandavit. Hoc[a] viſo, Scotti potentes, comites et barones, remanſerunt; ceteri ad quinque milia abierunt retrorſum. Quinto kalendas Maii rex Angliæ cum octingentis equis villam exiens ſupradictam, verſus caſtrum de Dumbar feſtinavit. Quo eodem die mane, obſeſſi prædicti, cogitantes perſpicatius de ſua liberatione, dominos Warrennæ et Warewik comites, et Hugonem le Deſpenſer, et alios de exercitu regis Angliæ majores, rogaverunt ut dominum Robertum de Ketingham prædictum ad regem Scotiæ pro ipſius conſilio requirendo poſſent licite demandare. Pro quibus dominos comitem de Meneteth et Johannem Comyn, filium Johannis Comyn comitis de Badenaw, ipſa petitione primitus obtenta, in noſtratum manibus obſides tradiderunt. Qui dominus Robertus eodem die poſt prandium, cum equitaturis quingentis et quadraginta milibus peditum eſt regreſſus. De quibus dominus Robertus et dominus Patricius de Graham, miles ſtrenuus, et filius domini Wilielmi de Sancto Claro, qui vexillum domini regis Scotiæ deferebat, et alii, ad minus decem milia, ceciderunt in bello, equis quater viginti lucratis, ceteris in fugam illico reverſis, excepto domino Johanne de Sumervilla, qui tunc temporis captus fuit. Die vero craſtino, rege Angliæ 1296.

[v] Hebe, N.

[w] H'anne [?] N.

[x] "Et filio domini Ricardi Sywad, militibus, et pluribus aliis viris Scotiæ," added in N.

[y] "Una cum filio," added in N.

[z] Quod distat a Berewyco per .xx. miliaria, pro oppositione, N.

[a] "Instead of this sentence, N. reads,—in cujus progressu rex noster filium comitis Patricii novo cinxit cingulo militari. Sed Scoti partem exercitus venire videntes, comitibus [et] baronibus supradictis, una cum pluribus aliis militibus et potentibus remanentibus in castro prædicto tam per mare quam per terram per nostros obsessos, in fugam bene ad quinque miliaria retrorsum abierunt."

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1296. villam de Dunbar appropinquante prædictam, dicti tres comites et .xxx. ad minus Scottorum milites, regi Angliæ, ſuæque regiæ voluntati, ſe et caſtrum prædictum planctu lacrimabili reddiderunt. Poſt hæc inſulam de Galeway ſubintrans, fugientibus ſeu fugatis qui atria cuſtodirent, caſtra ſingula viriliter occupavit. Ulterius vero progrediens ad Caſtrum Puellarum pervenit, in quo, velut inexpugnabili, ad tutelam generoſæ mulieres regni Scotiæ traditæ referuntur. Huic ut appropinquavit rex, diſpoſuit turmas ſuas ad obſidionem illius; nollentibus vero cuſtodibus illud reddere, adhibitæ ſunt machinæ belli emittentes lapides grandes, domos plures et cacumina turrium diſſipantes. His exterriti, cuſtodes caſtrum cum contentis regi Angliæ protinus reddiderunt. Quo in loco, velut in theſaurio principali territorii, inſignia regalia regni Scotiæ ſunt reperta, quæ apud Weſtmonaſterium in archariis regis ſunt recondita et ſignata. Exinde mare Scotticum pertranſiens, regem Scotiæ, nomine tantum, de cavernis educere anhelavit, villas Sancti Andreæ et Sancti Johannis cum vicinis caſtellis ditioni propriæ adnectendo. Porro Johannes rex Scotiæ, jam omni deſtitutus defenſione militari, in craſtino tranſlationis beati Thomæ martyris, carcerem et vincula evaſurus, regi Angliæ ſe reddidit per ſcripturam, quam ſcripturam vide infra, pœne in fine Libri. Et rex Angliæ Johannem Baliol, qui fuit rex Scotiæ, in Turri Londonenſi, ſimiliter omnes comites et barones Scotiæ bellica vi ſubactos, in caſtellis variis, carcerali cuſtodiæ ſubjugavit. Igitur Eadwardus rex Angliæ, peragratis quibuſque Scotiæ inſulis, victis villis et caſtellis, rebellibuſque non apparentibus, apud Sanctum Eadmundum primates ac magnates ſui regni ad ſuum parliamentum invitavit in feſto ſancti Martini.

1297. Quo etiam tempore vaſtaverunt Scoti finitima regni Angliæ et majorem partem Northumbriæ incenderunt, duce Willelmo Walleys, milite.

1298. Anno gratiæ m.cc.xcviij. accedente rege Angliæ ad Weſtmonaſterium . . . . inde proficiſcens, divertit ſe ad Eboracum, ducens ſecum Barones de Scaccario et Juſticiarios de Banco, poſt feſtum Sanctæ Trinitatis, parliamentum cum majoribus populi habiturus. Exinde ſe movens, ſtipatus

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agmine comitum, baronum, et militum copioſo, rebelles Scotos debellare curavit. Porro Scotti, tam tonſurati quam laici, in unum cuneum adunati, amplius quam ducenta milia virorum, mori aut pugnare fortiter ſunt inventi. Et commiſſum eſt bellum terribile in die ſanctæ Mariæ Magdalenæ, in campo qui dicitur Faukirke. Et ſtatim diſgregatis Scotis, ceciderunt ex eis equites ducenti, pedites vero .xl. milia et amplius, ceteris vero protinus in fugam converſis, pluribus ſe in flumen demergentibus. Ex Anglis quidem ceciderunt Brianus de Jay, Magiſter Templariorum in Anglia, et quidem peditum ferme triginta. 1298.

Anno gratiæ m.ccc.j. Sub eodem quoque tempore, ducente rege Angliæ exercitum contra gentem Scottorum, princeps Walliæ Eadwardus, regis filius, cum agmine ſuo bellicoſo progreditur ante eum; ſed quia nihil magnificum vel vix laude dignum, nemine Scottorum reſiſtente, peregerant, noſter calamus breviter pertranſeat. 1301.

Rex itaque Angliæ, geſtiens pacem bonam fieri in diebus ſuis, miſit nuncios præclaros circa Paſcha ad regem Franciæ, ut quid de bello et de pace deliberaſſet, per eoſdem renunciaret. Qui accepto reſponſo, quod non poſſunt tam ardua tractari negotia, niſi duodecim Pares plenarie congregarentur, quodque tunc non potuit fieri, ipſis procul, propter inopinatas emerſiones novi belli, in locis variis occupatis, ut poſt dies quindecim iſta fierent, expectarent. Quo tranſacto tempore, adunati majores Franciæ, ſe nolle diffinire de prædictis, reſponderunt Anglis, niſi in præſentia Scottorum confœderatorum ſuorum. Hoc audito, ad Angliam redierunt. 1302.

Anno gratiæ m.ccc.iij. qui eſt annus regni Eadwardi triceſimus primus, Eadwardus rex Angliæ hoſtilium aggreſſionum magnificus triumphator, ad Scotorum inſolentias reprimendas, fidelitatem ſuam atrociter prævaricantium, cum peremiſſent fideles ſuos, pro tuitione regiæ pacis ibidem tranſmiſſos, alios ſauciaſſent, alios ſemivivos ratocinio magno dimiſiſſent, in vindictam malefactorum et ſuccurſum gentis ſuæ, expeditione militari circa Pentecoſten Scotiam eſt ingreſſus. Poſt receſſum 1303.

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1303. quidem regis Angliæ a regno Scotiæ, et poſt plures cædes et incendia, ad ultimum Scoti obſederunt manu hoſtili caſtrum regis Angliæ, videlicet Strivelin. Ad quod per regem Angliæ defendendum .lx.[b] viri ſagittarii duntaxat fuerant deputati, habentes victum parce ſatis ſemenſem. Venerunt ergo magnates Scottorum in multitudine gravi, caſtrum illud fortiter obſedentes, et contra obſeſſi viriliter illud defenderunt. Cumque obſedentes caſtrum præ ſoliditate et ſublimitate ejus, non poſſet arte, ingenio, tormento, vel quomodolibet deteriorare, ſtatuunt obſeſſos fame fatigatos et inedia aliquando ſuperare. Quod intelligentes obſeſſi parcius ſtauro ſuo uſi ſunt. Et tam diu obſeſſum eſt caſtrum donec, conſumtis cibariis, neceſſitate cogente, occiſis equis et canibus, ederent carnes ipſorum cum ſanguine; et quod miſerabilius eſt loquendum, coria ipſorum animalium pranſi ſunt, quodque horribilius eſt audiendum, mures et murilegos, quos decipulæ ceperant, manducarunt. Conſumtis proinde omnibus quæ manducari poſſunt, dixerunt inter ſe obſeſſi, "Ecce, inimici ſatagunt nos fame devincere, et relictum eſt nobis modicum frumenti, et duæ partes unius bovis; ſane projiciamus quartam partem ſtateris de frumento et quartam partem bovis in hoſtium cuneos, reliquum cras et poſtridie comedamus et moriamur, ſi autument nos meſſe et carnibus abundare, forte ab obſidione recedent." O laudabilis induſtria! etſi a Joſepho famoſiſſimo quondam Judæorum bellatore inventa. Quod cum feciſſent obſeſſi, ludificati dixerunt obſeſſores, "Retrocedamus, quia nihil proficiemus; en quos ſperabimus fame periiſſe, in ejectione ſtauri ſui contrarium experimur." Porro Scotis recedentibus, miſerunt mox obſeſſi unum ex ſuis ad regem Angliæ pro victualibus et remedio citiſſime habendo, alioquin caſtrum nullatenus diutius poſſe defendere. Sed qui miſſus fuerat, currens ſponte per devium et a tramite bonitatis exorbitans, venit ad exercitum Scottorum, nuncians eis penuriam quam paſſi ſunt obſeſſi, et qualiter plures ex eis mortui ſunt, et conſilium dedit ſui faciendi propoſiti. O proditor! fili Rechab! ignoras mercedem quam tibi datus eſt rex David? quis reſtitit ei et pacem habuit? quis eum fefellit et lucem non luxit? Redierunt igitur Scoti et caſtrum iterum obſe-

[b] lxviij. *edit.*

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derunt, et obſeſſi non habentes unde vivere, poſt triduum caſtrum reddiderunt domino Johanni de Soules, et ſalvos pacti ſunt Scoti eos ad regem Anglorum abire. Deputatur proinde cuſtodia illius caſtri animoſo militi, electo de milibus, Wilielmo Olyfard, habenti ſubtus ſe trecentos homines bellicoſos, in locis variis conſtitutos, de quibus .cxx. ad defenſionem caſtri illius ſecum retinuit. Pro his et aliis multis multifariis injuriis ingreſſus rex Angliæ Scotiam, ut in chamo et frœno maxillas eorum comprimeret, qui non approximantes ad pacem ſuam eam infregerant, et dolos machinaverant tota die; igitur in manu forti occupavit munitiones et oppida eorum. Et cum appropinquaret caſtello de Brihyn, quod contra eum erat, ordinavit obſidionem. Defenſor autem caſtri illius, miles audaciſſimus animo et corpore, nomine Thomas Maille, non veritus regales acies, confidens in fortitudine murorum denſorum, nihil pendebat impugnationes validas machinarum, quoniam cum tormenta valida regis Angliæ jacerent lapides indeſinenter contra muros caſtelli, nec paries cederet, poſt redundationem lapidum, ſtetit ille miles Thomas cum manutergio et extruſit læſuram[c] de muro in ſubſannationem et deriſum totius exercitus Anglicani. Et cum per .xl. dies[d] caſtellum ſtrenue defendiſſet, in vigilia Sancti Laurentii, ipſo ſtante juxta propugnacula muri, directo tormento ad eundem Thomam, emiſſi lapidis ictus partem propugnaculi tetegit, et ex ſua vi ultra torrens percuſſit aſtantem militem Thomam in pectore, qui quaſſatus penitus cecidit mox ſupinus. Cumque adhuc palpitaret, accurrerent ſervi ejus quærendo an adhuc caſtellum reddere debuiſſent? Et valedicens[e] eis, in maledictionibus ſuis pro hoc propoſito expiravit, et ſtatim poſt, ipſo die, obſeſſi, omni deſtituti auxilio, caſtellum regi Angliæ reddiderunt. 1303.

Erant autem in Scotia duæ famoſſimæ abbatiæ, in facultatibus opulentiſſimæ, et in ædificiis munitiſſimæ, Aberbredok videlicet, et Dunfermelin. Porro Dunfermelin infra procinctum ſuum ampla erat nimis, continens tres carrucatas terræ, palatia quaſi regia continens in ſe multa, ita ut tres incliti reges cum eorum ſequela, ſinguli ſine alterius improbitate, ſimul et ſemel hoſpitari poterant. Idcirco propter nimiam capaci-

[c] Extersit cæsuram [?] [d] xx. *edit.* [e] Maledicens, *edit.*

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1303. tatem loci ſoliti fuerant majores natu regni Scotiæ illuc convenire, et machinationes contra regem Anglorum conficere, et plerumque in tempore belli, velut de latibulis prodeuntes, latrocinalem prædam et cædem in populum Anglicum frequentabant. Cernens igitur exercitus regis templum Domini, non eccleſiam, ſed ſpeluncam eſſe latronum, quaſi ſudem in oculo genti Anglorum, miſſo funiculo exactionis, antra, muros, palatia, omnia coæquans terræ, funditus diſſipavit, eccleſia duntaxat ab incendio reſervata, et paucis domibus, monachis regulariter competentibus.

1304. Sub eodem quoque tempore, quo reges ſolebant ad bella procedere, fortunatiſſimus rex Anglorum Eadwardus, peragratis quibuſque Scotiæ partibus, calcatis victorioſe cornibus ſuperborum, domitis rebellium fremitibus, deditis ejus arbitrio cunctis nobilioribus regni Scotiæ, ac etiam debellatis, adhuc reſtabat unum caſtellum fortiſſimum expugnandum, videlicet Strivelin; ad quod cum perveniſſet rex ſtatim obſidionem diſpoſuit. Defenſor autem caſtri, miles ſatis magnanimus, dictus Willelmus Olyfard, cernens tam eleganti expeditione, ſe et ſuos circumdari, mittit legationem, petens a rege ſibi licere magiſtro ſuo Johanni de Soules tranſmittere in Franciam, experiri certe an deberet ſponte et ſine reſiſtentia regi reddere caſtellum, vel contra eum quamdiu poterat illud defendere. Cui rex, "Nequaquam; quinimo ſi ſalubrius æſtimaverit caſtrum defendere quam illud nobis reddere, ipſe viderit." Quo reſponſo recepto, recordatus eſt Wilielmus juramenti quod fecerat magiſtro ſuo agenti tunc in Francia cum quibuſdam Scotis, gratia defenſionis habendæ. Sed quia non aderat auxiliator, neque qui ferret juvamen ad reſiſtendum aciei regiæ, ſe præparat quantum poteſt. Æſtimabat autem ſe non regi obnoxium eſſe ſi caſtellum defenderet contra eum, pro eo quod fidelitatem vel homagium nunquam ſibi corporaliter præſtitiſſet. Sed quomodo una cum magiſtro ſuo terram alterius et caſtrum regis fraudulenter invaſerat, non ſane proſpexit, aut noluit intelligere, ut bene ageret. Porro rex Angliæ animavit populum ſuum ad bellum, replicans qualiter poſt obitum Alexandri regis Scotiæ, comites et barones illum in principalem dominum elegerunt, fidelitatem et homagium ſibi dantes, corporali præſtito ſacra-

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mento pro ſe et pro cunctis majoribus et minoribus regni tam præſentibus quam futuris, ut diſcuſſo jure ſingulorum vendicantium coram eo, ille coronam ſuſciperet, quem ipſe judicaverit amplius habere juris ad regnum. Quique præcaventes ſibi in futurum, ut rex Angliæ, et non quaſi vocalis eorum et regni, et regis Franciæ dominus, quicquam conſtitueret, verum etiam ipſum tanquam advocatum dominum et realem poſſeſſorem, omnibus caſtellis, civitatibus, burgis, mareſcalliis, feneſchaliis, ac cunctis aliis proprietatibus quæ ad regnum pertinent, ipſum per dies .xl. pacifice ſeiſiarunt, ne in vanum currerent[f], aut in irritum factum proprium revocarent, prout in patenti eorundum inſtrumento inde confecto plenius continetur. Poſtmodum electus eorum rex et coronatus contra ligium dominum ſuum regem Angliæ movens bellum divincitur, et carceri mancipatur. Peremtiſque .c.m. viris, et amplius, in bello apud Berwicum et Dunbar, inſuper captis baronibus, comitibus, et militibus regni Scotiæ et in Anglia incarceratis, ipſe conquæſtor et monarcha duorum regnorum efficitur lege belli. Denuo demiſſis illis miſericorditer repedare ad natale ſolum, et iterum bellum ſuſcitantibus, occurrens rex cum armato milite regnum Scotiæ alias in ore gladii adquiſivit, occiſis in bello juxta Faukirke .lx.m. viris de Scotia. Dixitque rex, "Cum igitur jam tertio rebellionis filios clava potentiæ noſtræ bellicoſe domuerimus, et non ſit qui reſiſtat nobis, niſi alter Siba, filius Botrii, commilitones optimi, ſervate titulos laudis veſtræ, ut expugnato nocivo vermiculo honor veſter propenſius augeatur." Peroraverat iſta rex, et legionis vel exercitus probatur aſſentio. Proinde tenduntur baliſtæ, eriguntur machinæ, fabricantur tormenta ad lapides jaciendos. Ex adverſo autem reſtabat caſtrum firmiſſimum et altum, quia juxta ripam maris ſuper rupem ſolidiſſimam extitit fabricatum, ad quod unus introitus, cujus et exitus, deintus vero viri egregii quos deſperatio reddidit fortiores. Utrobique pugnatur; ſubſannant hi in arce inferiorum ictus miſſilium, impugnationes machinarum retorquentes ſuper Anglos ex alto inviſa jacula baliſtarum et lapides, quibus plurimos ſauciarunt et alios necaverunt, et exeuntes aliquando de caſtello ſtrages in exercitu faciebant. Porro motus ſuper 1304.

[f] Vacuum, *edit.*

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1304. his rex jubet ut, erectis immensis tormentis, lapides torrentes ad murum et ultra murum continue jaciantur; sed qui contra murum expugnabant aliquando in vanum resiliunt, qui vero ultra murum circumferebantur, ruentes in castrum multum eis nocebant. Nam adeo assidue faces et lapides intra castrum tormentarunt, quousque acervos missis eorum cremarent, cunctaque castri ædificia funditus prosternerent sua mole. In omnibus autem his non est aversus furor maledictus, quia pertinax, non seceſſit robur obsedentium Anglorum, quia efficax. Erant autem infra castellum in rupe cavernæ et speluncæ concavæ vel cavatæ, et desuper murus fortissimus, et in muro arcus et antra, in quibus reconderant victualia, quæ habebant in speluncis ab ictu lapidis delitescentes. Cumque transissent nonaginta obsidionis dies, nec castellani se redderent, ait rex, "Vivat Dominus! non recedamus hinc quousque debellaverimus eos, aut ipsi nos hinc fugaverint." Cui alius, confortans regem, ait, "Domine mi, fac quæcunque sunt in corde tuo, quia Dominus est tecum!" Et vere Dominus erat secum, admirantissime servans eum coram omni populo, nam cum animaret exercitum suum ad prœlium, illeque semper primus, et sæpius, et propius juxta castelli murum accederet, et inermis super dextrarium equitaret, ecce angelus Sathanæ misit in cor hominis Scoti ut mitteret manum in Christum Domini, qui de turre regem advertens, tensa balista, emissum spiculum direxit ad cor regis, sed Angelus Domini ictum frustrat. Audi miraculum; telum diaboli jacitur super Christum Domini, sed O Sathan! sagittisti regem, non mactasti regem; robam regis perforasti, in nihilo carnem lædens. Sed neque jumentum sessoris vales perimere, dum per medium lori avolas, horribilis sibilans. Sellam perforas, nec cutem depilas! Et frequenter in obsidionis continuatione hi in arce in alto in regem inermem spicula crudelissimi tormenti, quod Anglice dicitur "Espringold" jaciunt perimendum, sed, Dei nutu, nec regem nec sonipedem ejus læserunt, de populo quidem plurimos necaverunt. Et cum dissuaderetur ne amplius sic inermis procederet propter avolantium quasi de tenebris spiculorum infortunium, a quibus velut a dæmonio meridiano metueret, respondit, "Cadent a latere meo mille, et decem milia a dextris meis, ad me autem nocendum non appropinquabunt. In nomine Domini suscepimus bellum justum, propterea non

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timebimus quid faciat nobis homo, quoniam a dextris nobis eſt, idcirco minime commovemur." Altera die cum rex equitaret inermis cominus juxta murum, ex quo timuit omnis Anglorum exercitus, effrænati hoſtes lapidem miræ magnitudinis ſubmittunt ut regem opprimerent; res ſtupenda nimis, ex turbine molæ violentiſſimo, quaſi ad ictum tonitru, dextrarius regis reſupinatis pedibus corruit, quaſi aſina Balaam, dans locum exterminatori. Et accurrentes commilitones traxerunt regem per declivum montis, increpanteſque dixerunt, "Domine, quare proprius ceteris inermis ad murum acceditis, ut prœliamini? An ignoras quod multa deſuper ex muro tela mittantur? Quis percuſſit Abimelech filium Jerobaal? Nonne mulier miſit ſuper eum fragmentum molæ de muro, et interfecit eum in Thabes? Manete amodo in papilionibus. Sive enim fugerimus, non magnopere de nobis ad eos pertinebit, ſive media pars de nobis ceciderit non ſatis curabunt, quia ſola perſona veſtra pro decem millibus computatur. Melius eſt igitur ut ſitis aliorſum in præſidio." Quibus rex, "Vivit Dominus, non dimittam vos, ſive in vitam, ſive in mortem abieritis." Proinde juſſit rex arietem fabricari, quem Græci[f] nicontam vocant, quaſi vincentem omnia, et lupum belli; verum aries indecens et incompoſitus parum aut nihil profuit, lupus autem belli, minus ſumtuoſus incluſis[g] plus nocuit. Audi inaudita; immenſa quidem tormenta ictu unius lapidis duos antiparietes de arce in vertice rupis fundatos, quaſi ſagitta per filum advolans, perforavit. Plures autem lapides minorum machinarum denſiores muros impengentes, fruſtatis[h] obviis lapidibus in muro locum commorabilem quaſi victorii vendicabant, in ſignum perpetuæ victoriæ et magni triumphi magnifici regis indeleta veſtigia relinquentes. Et de regis ſapientia non eſt obmuteſcendum. Cum igitur quamplura jacula ipſum a dextris et a ſiniſtris ex obſeſſis circumdarent et incaſſam deciderent, volentes Anglos tela colligere, prohibuit rex, ita fatus, "Parvi pendite et tranſite. In non colligendo ſpicula æſtimabunt, ea uſque nos minime perveniſſe. Si vero ipſa colligeris, animadvertent illa propius acceediſſe, et animoſius erga nos tela ſua dirigent." Proinde obſeſſi videntes alia machinamenta levata ſuperius quam caſtri murale, et tunc præ ti-

1304.

[f] Hebræi, *edit.* [g] Obsessit, *edit.* [h] Frustratis, *edit.*

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1304. more invifibilium miffilium fub divo progredi non audentes, fcientefque quoniam confummata funt omnia quæ infra caftellum illud erant ad fuftentationem, et caftelli et fui infra triduum captionem, majores exercitus regii alloquuntur, pollicentes fe caftellum reddere, ita quod pœnam proditorum et homicidarum non luerent. Spondent reliqui, quantum in eis foret. Exeuntes igitur de caftello finguli, rei mortis, die fanctæ Margaretæ virginis, venerunt ad regem more furum, difcincti, difcalciati, afperfi cinere capita, funiculos in manibus et in collis perfide geftantes, hujufcemodi fe bene meritos oftendentes, gratiam regis petentes. Quibus rex, "Nequaquam ad meam gratiam, quia indigne vos recipiam, fed ad meam voluntatem." Cui rei, "Domine, ad veftram voluntatem nofipfos fubmittimus." Quibus rex, "Equidem meæ voluntatis eft vos membratim diftrahi et fufpendi, fi quo minus permittam vos falvos in caftellum redire." Cui Willelmus Olyfard humi proftratus, cum fingultibus ait, "O domine rex! fcimus quia major eft noftra iniquitas quam ut veniam mereamur; neque enim fuit familia ifta mea, nifi obnoxia domino noftro regi. Verumtamen, rex pietatis, deprecamur ineffabilem clementiam veftram, quam five confequimur indigni, five non, habetote nos omnes tanquam mortuos fuper terram." Cumque ejulatu magno fleret, rex aliis parricidis dicebat, "Quid petitis et vos?" Et illi gemebundi clamaverunt, "Rei fumus mortis; ad veftram voluntatem fufcipiatis nos, domine." Motus ergo rex fuper tantis clamore et fletibus, avertit fe parumper, fed etiam totus populus circumftans ad lachrymas eft compunctus. Proinde juffit rex eos fufcipi et in diverfis caftellis Angliæ fingulatim incarcerari, nullum ex eis perimens, nullum damnans. Proditor autem ille prophanus, cujus fraude Scoti illud caftrum adquifierant, capitur, caudis equorum trahitur, demum laqueo eft fufpenfus. Et fic ceffavit quaffatio tanti belli. Porro rex adhuc poft redditionem caftelli fecit meliorare arietem; cui alii dixerunt, "Domine, ad quid perditio hæc? jam caftellum redditum eft nobis." Refpondit rex, "Quod facio nunc non eft deftructio, fed poft me bellantium aut regnantium hoftilium caftrorum doctrinalis quaffatio." Proinde victoriofiffimus rex Angliæ Eadwardus, deputatis in caftello illo et in cæteris locis Scotiæ viris nobilibus, qui triumphalem pacem fuam cunctis indigenis fervarent, co-

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mitantibus eum comitibus et baronibus Scotiæ, in ſignum deditionis et rebellionis debellatæ, ad Angliam lora direxerunt. 1304.

Circa feſtum aſſumptionis beatæ Mariæ quidem Scotus dictus Wilelmus Waleis, refuga pietatis, prædo, ſacrilegus, incendiarius et homicida, Herode crudelitate immitior, Nerone veſania debacchantior, qui pudenda hominis, quæ Deus cælari voluit, faciens eis perizomata, cum Chanaan maledicto diſcooperuit, cogens quam plurimos viros ac mulieres Anglicos mixtim charolare nudos et pſallere ante ſe, conſtitutis a tergo tortoribus cum ſcorpionibus et aculeis flagellantibus incurvantes et pungentibus ut cederent in directum; qui infantes in cunis vagientes et quoſdam pendentes ad ubera eviſceravit; qui pueros in ſcholis et in eccleſiis ad magnum numerum incendio conflagravit; qui dum collegiſſet exercitum Scottorum in bello de Foukirk contra regem Anglorum, et vidiſſet quod nequiret reſiſtere tam forti exercitui, ait Scotis, "Ecce adduxi vos ad annulum, charolate (vel tripudiate) vos ſicut melius ſcitis." Et aufugit e prœlio, populum ſuum in occiſione gladii derilinquens. Hic vir Belial, poſt innumera flagitia tandem per miniſtros regis capitur, et Londinum, volente rege de ipſo fieri judicium, adducitur, ac per nobiliores regni Angliæ, in vigilia ſancti Bartholomæi, morte crudeliſſima ſed dignitiſſima, condemnatur. Primo per plateas Londini ad caudas equinas tractus uſque ad patibulum altiſſimum ſibi fabricatum, quo laqueo ſuſpenſus, poſtea ſemivivus demiſſus, deinde abſciſſis genitalibus et eviſceratis inteſtinis, ac in ignem crematis, demum, abſciſſo capite ac trunco in quatuor partes ſecto, caput palo ſuper pontem Londinenſem affigitur; quadrifida vero membra ad quatuor partes Scotiæ ſunt tranſmiſſa. Ecce finis immiſericordis hominis, quem immiſericordia ſic finivit! 1305.

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III.

EXTRACTS FROM THE HARLEIAN MANUSCRIPT 3860, fol. 18, b.[1]

DE ARBITRATIONE SCOTTORUM IN REGEM ANGLIÆ.

ANNO gratiæ m.cc. nonageſimo primo, Scoti, poſt mortem Alexandri regis, compromiſerunt in regem Angliæ, tanquam in dominum ſuum, cui conceſſerunt, et fecerunt poſſeſſionem et ſaſinam totius terræ Scotiæ, tam in terris quam in caſtris, uſque ad terminum duodecim menſium, donec dictus rex fuerit arbitratus dicti regni jura, quia quot fuerunt proceres tot voluerunt eſſe reges. His itaque geſtis, ordinavit rex ut de regno Scottorum elegerentur quinquaginta arbitratores diſcreti et legem ſcientes, quibus electis, aſſociavit eis ex Anglia triginta viros electos, præcipiens eis et univerſis in fidem ſacramenti præſtiti, ut Deum habentes præ oculis vota petentium ponderarent, et debito fine clauderent negotium ſucceſſionis prædicti. Dicti arbitratores, omnibus diligenter examinatis [et] diſcuſſis, Johanni de Balliolo ſucceſſionem regni Scotiæ adjudicarunt. Rex vero Angliæ eorum approbando arbitrium eidem Johanni cum omni integritate regnum Scotiæ reſtituit, ſalvo ſibi homagio ſuo, et fidelitate pro tempore facienda. Idem Johannes apud Monaſterium de Scone factus eſt rex, more Scottorum; idem rex Scottorum die Sancti Stephani protomartiris [Dec. 26] fecit homagium regi Angliæ apud No-

[1] This extract is of considerable value. It is transcribed from a manuscript written in the reign of Edward the First, by one who possessed minute and accurate information respecting the transactions of the period. From the attention given to Northern affairs in general, and from the fact of this Chronicle having been used by Hemingford, there may be reason to conclude that it is the production of some Monastic Chronicler, who resided in the north of England.

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vum Caſtrum ſuper Tynam anno Domini m.cc. nonageſimo ſecundo, et rex Angliæ omnia jura integra et illæſa eidem reſtituit.

QUALITER SCOTTI REBELLAVERUNT CONTRA REGEM ANGLIÆ.

Anno Domini m.cc.xc. quinto, Scoti, homines inquieti, leves et inſtabiles, contra regem Anglorum rebellare ceperunt credentes excutere jugum debitæ ſervitutis, et ad eorum auxilium inierunt fœdus cum Philippo Dei gratia rege Francorum. Inito fœdere, mox erexerunt cornua et ſe ad pugnam paraverunt, et cum Francis et Flandrenſibus in furore ſuo mercatores Anglicos in portu de Berewicke ceciderunt, detruncaverunt, et quoſdam morte peremerunt; quod, cum audiſſet rex Angliæ, admirans ait, "O quanta nequitia; O quanta ſeditio; quis unquam crederet talia? certe completa eſt jam eorum malitia, nec eſt a nobis ulterius expectandum." Ordinato autem exercitu et numerato .v. milia in equis armatis et peditum electorum .lx^ta^. milia, dum irent verſus caſtrum de Wercke et quia erat proximum paſcha, rex Angliæ noluit fines ſuos egredi ante peractam ſolemnitatem.

Sed anno Domini m.cc. nonageſimo .vj^to^., die Lunæ in hebdomada Paſchæ, proceres Scottorum cum exercitu copioſo egreſſi a valle Anandiæ tranſeuntes aquam de Suelwath per tria loca, incendentes ab Arturhet, et totam patriam quæ dicitur "Foreſta Nicolai" uſque Karliolum, trucidantes gladio, et perementes quotquot invenire poterant, non parcentes ſexui, ordini, vel ætati. Die vero Martis, parabant ſe ad obſidionem civitatis Karlioli ex oppoſito pontis de Edene, et fuit in civitate quidam explorator, [qui] audiens Scottos venire, domum accendit, ſtatimque murum aſcendit, conclamavit ad Scottos, ut viriliter agerent et confortarentur; qui cum cognoſceretur a civibus in clamore ſuo deprehenſus eſt et morti traditus. Domus itaque per ipſum accenſa, vento flante, facta eſt flamma vorax in univerſum, [et] combuſta eſt magna pars civitatis. Cucurrerunt ad ignem multi, et pauci ad portas civitatis, mulieres tamen viriliter agentes lapides in hoſtes jacentes et aquam calidam effudentes, extincto igne, omnes unanimiter ſe dederunt in hoſtes. Die quinto Mercurii cum ſe videntur Scotti non proficere, ſed deficere, reliquerunt obſidionem incœptam, et reverſi ſunt in Vallem Anandiæ, unde digreſſi ſunt.

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QUOMODO REX CEPIT BEREWICKE.

Die Mercurii in eadem hebdomada Paſchæ, peracta ſolemnitate paſchali reverentia qua deceret, rex Angliæ cum exercitu ſuo terram inimicorum ſuorum ingreſſus eſt, et in planitie juxta Berewicke, exercitu ſuo præparato, fecit novos milites; quod cum vidiſſent marinarii Angliæ [qui] cum navibus bellicis in portu de Berewicke expectabant, inſultum fecerunt, et hoſtes quaſdam naves in alto terræ affixas combuſſerunt. Cumque regi Angliæ, adhuc in campo exiſtente, talia dicerentur, videntibuſque cunctis fumum e navibus aſcendi, præcepit rex ut tubis canerent, urbemque potenter ingrederentur, ut fecerunt, cedentes hoſtes hinc inde uſque ad mare; ad quorum introitum attoniti Scotti non erat ex eis qui gladium erigeret, vel telam emitteret, ſed ſtabant ſtupefacti velut homines extra ſe. Capta itaque urbe, ceciderunt de hoſtibus pluſquam octo milia, et omnes illi qui erant ſalvi fecerunt ſacramentum quod nunquam contra ſe, vel regnum Angliæ, manum erigerent, portantes arma liberos abire permiſit, et mulieres abierunt in pace. Manſit autem rex in eadem urbe diebus .xv. et novum ferit conſtrui foſſatum, latitudinis .lxxx^ta^. pedum, et profunditatis .xl.

REX SCOTTORUM REDDIDIT HOMAGIUM.

Dumque maneret ibidem, miſit ad eum rex Scotiæ nuncios, viros religioſos, qui ſibi homagium ſuum traderent, dicens, "Nos volentes erigere fidelitatem et homagium vobis facta, tam a nobis quam ab aliis quibuſcunque regni noſtri incolis fidelibus noſtris, ratione terrarum, quas in regno veſtro de vobis tenentur, et etiam ratione menagii, ſeu retentionis veſtræ, nomine noſtro ac nomine eorundem omnium et ſingulorum, vobis reddimus per præſentes;" et fuit illa littera ſine data. Recepitque rex homagium reſignatum et præcepit ut inrotularetur in rotulis Cancellariæ ſuæ ad perpetuam rei geſtæ memoriam; et factum ſit.

SCOTTI COMBUSSERUNT EXTOLDISSAME.

Eodem menſe Aprili prædicti comites Scotiæ cum exercitu copioſo digreſſi ſunt de Gedewort, concremantes ex orientali parte Tyne, Kokedale, Redeſdale, et Northumbriam cum Correbrige, et monaſterium de

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Hextildiſſham, cum tota villa, inaudito facinore, et domum ſanctarum monialium de Lamelay incendio horribili concremarunt; in fine illius diei pernoctantes apud Lanercoſte. Cumque fuiſſet eorum voluntas ulterius procedere, noluit ipſe Deus, quia affuit eis nuncians ex ſuis qui diceret quod exercitus regis Angliæ quaſi in januis aſſiſteret. Attoniti vero et ſtupefacti in hoc, cum quaſdam domus ejuſdem monaſterii, non tamen eccleſiam, incendiſſent, ſummo mane diei Veneris per medium foreſtæ Nicholai cum magna præda reverſi ſunt.

QUOMODO CONFUSI SUNT SCOTTI APUD DUNBARE.

Eodem tempore cum comes Patricius, qui vulgariter dicitur "Counte de la Marche," potenter fideliterque regi Angliæ militaret, uxor ejus, comitiſſa, in caſtro ſuo de Dunbar manens, dolum et fraudem cogitans, miſit nuncium ad Scotos quod omni feſtinatione ad auſtrum venirent, promittens ſe in adventu eorum caſtrum reddituram. Scotti miſerunt tres comites, quatuor barones, .xxx^ta^. unum milites, cum centum armigeris; et mox in eorum adventu reddidit eis caſtrum. Quod cum eſſet eidem regi Angliæ nunciatum, miſit ibidem cum comite de Warenna mille armatos equites et peditum decem milia, et cum obſediſſent caſtrum infra paucos dies venit excercitus multus a rege Scottorum miſſus, mille quinquaginta equitantium, et .xl^ta^. milia peditum, ex oppoſito de Dunbar, ad bellum per turmas. Quod cum vidiſſent novi caſtrenſes, ex viſione læti effecti, vexilla ſua præ propugnaculis caſtri erexerunt. Tunc comes de Warenna, aſſignatis quibuſdam armatis ad obſidionem caſtri continuandum, ne hoſtes exirent, ipſe cum exercitu reſiduo animoſe proceſſit ad hoſtes Scottorum, directis hinc inde aciebus, abſque ulla dilatione mutuo congreſſi ſunt lanceis et gladiis viciſſim occurrentes, et, ut Altiſſimo placuit, mox quaſi in primis ictibus terga verterunt Scotti, et inſequabantur noſtri cedentes et trucidantes quaſi ſpatio .vij. leucarum, fere uſque ad foreſtam de Selekirke; ceciderunt que ex eis .x. milia. Regi autem Angliæ in craſtino venienti reddiderunt caſtrum, et omnes caſtrenſes, quos invenit rex Angliæ, ſparſim et diviſim miſit ad diverſa caſtella in Anglia ſub firma cuſtodia reſervandos. Optenta itaque victoria de Dunbar, diſſoluta ſunt conſilia et corda Scottorum, namque univerſam eorum gloriam

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bus vel pedibus, ne natando evaderent, ſalire vel præcipitari faciebant, ſubmertione eorum lætantes. Cum iſta nunciata fuerunt domino regi Angliæ, quaſi accinctu tranſſretandi in Flandriam, propoſitum mutare noluit, ſed omnem militiam Eboracenſis comitatus a Trenta uſque in Scotiam, ipſi comiti de Varenna aſſignans, ut Scottorum audaciam feſtinando reprimeret. Comes de Warenna excercitum congregans et ingreſſus Vallem Anandiæ cum trecentis equitibus armatis et .xl. milibus peditum, cumque pernoctaſſet apud Louchmaban deinde profecti ſunt uſque ad villam de Are, juxta Galwadiam, ut ad pacem admitterent Galwaſenſes; nunciatum eſt eis quod excercitus Scottorum non diſtabat ab eis niſi ſpatio .iiij. leucarum, et illi ſummo mane caſtra moventes viderunt exercitum Scottorum. Cumque magnates Scottorum, qui ibi aderant, viderent ſe eſſe impares equeſtribus noſtris, licet pedeſtres noſtros in duplo excederent, timuerunt valde ſibi, et miſſis nunciis pacem petierunt, et continuo ſe dederunt prædicto comiti et domino H. de Percy, nomine regis Angliæ, ſalvis eis vita et membris, terris et catallis. Hinc noſtri proceſſerunt armati ad Villam de Strevelline, [ubi] præceptum [eſt] quod omnes eſſent parati mane ad tranſeundum pontem de Striveline. Mane autem facto, tranſierunt pedeſtres .v. milia, et Walenſes plures, cumque omnes eſſent in campo armati, comes fecit novos milites. Mittebantur interim duos Prædicatores Fratres ad exercitum Scottorum, qui in altera parte montis ſupra monaſterium de Scameſchinel cum illo latrone Willelmo Valays latitabat, ſi forte pacem amplectere vellent, quam prætendebant. Ad hoc reſpondit latro, "Pro bono pacis non venimus, ſed parati ſumus ad pugnam ad vindicandum nos et liberandum regnum noſtrum." Cumque talia dicerentur noſtris, mox præſumtuoſi aſcendebant ad eos qui noluerunt ſano conſilio adquieſcere, inter quos adjecit ille Theſaurarius Hugo de Greſhincham, homo quidem pompoſus et filius mortis, "Non expedit, domine comes, ulterius protelare negotium, et theſaurum regis noſtri in vanum expendere, ſed faciamus debitum noſtrum." Motus itaque comes præcepit ut pontem tranſirent, qui ita erat ſtrictus quod bini equeſtres vix ſimul tranſire potuerunt, nec fuit aptior locus in regno Scotiæ ad concludendum Anglicos in manus Scottorum, et multos in manus paucorum; ubi corruerunt ex parte noſtra numero armatorum fere

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centum, et peditum quasi .v. milia. Corruit eodem die prædictus Thesaurarius, scilicet, dominus Hugo de Creffingham, in multis ecclesiis beneficatus, nunquam tamen arma spiritualia vel casulam, sed galiam et loricam, in quibus corruit, et qui gladio linguæ suæ multos excoruerat in judiciis multis, gladio tandem perversorum occisus est. Erat enim homo pulcher et grassus, multos enim in hac die seduxit, sed et ipse seductus est, qui erat levis et lubricus, elatus superbia et avaritiæ deditus. Et cum nostri inierunt, ut potuerunt, Senescallus Scotiæ et comes de Levenax, qui prius pacifice ad nostros venerant, cum vidissent nostros corruisse, confestim recesserunt ad suos qui latitabant juxta locum qui dicitur Polles, qui nefandæ rei videntes eventum egressi sunt obviam nostris, et multos fugientes peremerunt. Comes vero de Warenna citra pontem semper existens, reverso domino Mardecuo[k] cum suis, præcepit pontem frangi et comburi, et commissa custodia ejusdem castri de Striveline prædicto domino Marmeduco de Thwenge, comes cum festinatione apud Berewicke est profectus, deinde processit ad filium regis in partes australes Angliæ, et reliquit patriam penitus desolatam. Facta fuit confusio hæc .iij. idus Septembris, [Sept. 11] anno gratiæ m.cc.xc. septimo. Scotti post ista nefanda animati, Anglici juste timentes sibi qui remanserant in Berewicke et in aliis locis, a loco suo abierunt, quia defensorem non habuerunt, et cito post ingressi sunt Scoti Berewicke, sed nostri castrum tenuerunt et viriliter defenderunt illud. Northumbrenses timore perterriti evacuaverunt patriam ab uxoribus et parvulis et bestiis usque ad Novum Castrum. Mox Scotti latenter Northumbriam ingressi sunt et peremerunt multos, et prædas asportaverunt, et erant ingredientes et egredientes ad libitum, cumbantes in foresta de Routhebery, nec erat qui exterreret eos. In illo tempore cessavit laus Dei in omnibus monasteriis [et] ecclesiis totius provinciæ; a Novo Castro super Tynam usque Karliolum omnia membra ecclesiastica fugerunt a facie Scottorum. Vacabant itaque Scotti incendiis [et] rapinis a festo Sancti Lucæ [Oct. 18] ad festum Sancti Martini [Nov. 11] et non erat qui impediret. Vastaverunt per medium forestæ de Igneldewde Cumberlande, et Alverdale usque

[k] Marmeduco de Twenge.

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Derewent, ad Kokermuth, non enim peparcit eorum oculus ordini, ſexui vel ſtatui; et omnes eccleſias et Dei ſanctuaria pro nihilo reputabant; et ſupervenit tempeſtas maxima grandinis, nivis, et fortis gelu infra eaſdem octobas beati Martini, ita quod multi Scotti fame et frigore perierunt, et ſic tempore perterriti ad propria fugierunt.

QUOMODO COMITES PROCESSERUNT AD SCOTIAM.

Rex etiam noſter ſpecialiter per litteras ſuas rogavit comites Angliæ et ceteros magnates, ut ſicut ſuum et totius terræ Anglicanæ honorem diligerent, cum feſtinatione procederent in Scotiam cum comite de Warenna, quem ſuo loco præfecerat, ut Scottorum audaciam reprimerent et caſtigarent. Comites et barones in unum convenientes ſtatuerunt, ut apud Novum Caſtrum ſuper Tynam omnis populus numeraretur expeditus ad pugnam, et ſic continuo procederetur in hoſtes. Venientes ergo ibidem numeraverunt populum univerſum, et inventa ſunt duo milia equorum armatorum cum aſſeſſoribus electis, et aliorum equitantium plus quam mille ducenti, peditum cum Valenſibus plus quam centum millia. Proceſſerunt continuo uſque ad confinia regionum et ſingulis diebus augebatur eorum numerus in pedeſtribus et in equis. Cumque ſenſiſſent[1] Scotti adventum eorum fugerunt, [et] ingreſſi ſunt noſtri terram Scotiæ apud Rockeſburge conſolantes obſeſſos; deinde digreſſi ſunt uſque Kelſow, unde revertentes ad Berewicke ſuper Thwedam invenerunt eam vacuam, eo quod fugerant Scotti, audito eorum ingreſſu in terram. Manſerunt in eadem villa de Berewicke expectantes regis mandatum, prout receperunt in mandatis, ſemper ſuis hoſtibus ad reſiſtendum parati.

QUOMODO REX FESTINAVIT CUM EXERCITU CONTRA SCOTTOS.

Anno Domini m.cc. nonageſimo octavo, poſtquam reverſus eſt rex a Flandria, ſtatuit Parliamentum ſuum apud Eboracum in feſto Pentecoſtes, præmiſitque litteras ſuas ad magnates Scotiæ, ut ſi in fidelitate ſua, in qua eos dimiſerat, adhuc perſiſtendo manerent, in eodem Parliamento modis omnibus ſe abſque ulla excuſatione præſentarent; alioquin, omni

[1] MS. *sunsissent.*

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abnegatione poſtpoſita, eos velut hoſtes publicos cenſeret hoſtiliter et cum omni feſtinatione expetendos. Cumque non venirent nec mitterent, ordinavit rex quod omnes fideles in craſtino Natalis Sancti Johannis Baptiſtæ apud Rokeſburg, cum equis et armis convenirent, quo die omnes convenerunt, et numeratus eſt regis exercitus cum comitibus ſuis tria milia electorum in equis armatis, in equis non armatis qui numerabantur plus quam quatuor milia. De exercitu autem pedeſtri non curavit rex illa vice; numerati ſunt pedeſtres qui aderant octoginta milia, præter eos qui venerunt de Waſgonia.

Quo facto et omnibus ad expeditionem belli præparatis, proceſſerunt turmatim per modicas dietas, vaſtantes et incendentes univerſa. Ecce duos comites, Patricius et ille de Anegos, die proxima ante feſtum Beatæ Mariæ Magdalenæ, ad epiſcopum Dunelmenſem venientes, qui ſtatuerunt puerum exploratorem coram rege qui diceret, "Salve, rex," et rex ad eum, "Salve ſis." Et intulit, "Domine mi, rex, exercitus Scottorum et omnes hoſtes tui non diſtant a te niſi per ſex leucas modicas juxta Fauckirke in foreſta de Celcirke," et audito hoc ait rex, "Vivit Dominus, qui uſque jam eruit me ab omni anguſtia, quia non erit neceſſe ut ſequantur, quoniam procedam eis in obviam in die hac." Statimque præcepit ut armarentur omnes, nec tamen diceretur quo procedere vellet; ipſe rex armatus præ ceteris aſcendit in equum, et exhortabat alios ad arma capienda, et ore proprio loquebatur ad eos ut eum ſequerentur, nec expaveſcerent. Omnibus itaque præparatis, proceſſit rex hora tertia a loco illo de Tempellyſton dirigens greſſus ſuos verſus locum nominatum de Faukirke; cumque veniſſent in mora citra Linlithcow pernoctaverunt ibidem et requieſcebant in terra, componentes ſcuta pro cervicalibus et pro lectualibus arma, equi nil guſtabant niſi ferrum. In aurora diei tranſierunt villam de Linlithcow et cum levaſſent oculos ad Deum, in ſupercilio cujuſdam montis fixerunt tentorium, et audientes miſſam de Beata Maria Magdalena. Miſſa celebrata, viderunt noſtri Scottos a remotis bella conſtruere, et ordinare ſe ad pugnam. Statuerunt enim Scotti omnem plebem ſuam per turmas .iiij.or, in modum circulorum in campo duro juxta Fauchircke, et ait rex, "Equitemus in nomine Domini, quoniam campus noſter eſt et victoria noſtra;" dicens in nomine

ferrum? idem ac
foenum.

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Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti. Moxque venientibus noſtris fugerunt Scottorum equeſtres abſque gladii ictu, paucis tamen remanentibus; noſtri ſe dederunt ad Scottos lanciarios, qui in circulis ſedebant cum lanceis obliquatis in modum ſilvæ condenſæ; et ad ſagittarios et ad omnes alios vaſtantes. Corrueruntque ex Scottis in die illa (præter ſubmeros multos, quorum neſcitur numerus,) ſed in campo numerantur quinquaginta milia peditum interfectorum, et capti erant Scoti alii tam equeſtres quam pedeſtres ad numerum infinitum. Salvavitque Dominus noſtros, ne cecidit homo valoris in omni prœlio, niſi ſolus Magiſter militiæ Templi, qui, inſequando fugientes in quodam lacu, interemtus eſt et occiſus.

DAT REX TERRAS SCOTTORUM MAGNATIBUS SUIS.

Obtenta victoria, proceſſit rex uſque ad Sanctum Andream et Perte, cum Villa Sancti Johannis, vaſtans omnia, nec erat qui reſiſteret, rediens per Selckirke, capiens caſtellum de Are et de Loumaban. Et quia ipſe terras dedit, inconſultis quibuſdam comitibus ſuis et baronibus, admirati ſunt, eo quod promiſerat ſe nil ſine ipſis facturum, et ab eo receſſerunt quaſi erant moti, in partes Anglicanas, et cito poſt diſſentio orta eſt inter regem et comites propter Magnam Chartam; ſed anno Domini m.cc. nonogeſimo nono, in feſto tranſlationis Beati Thomæ martyris, apud Cantuariam pax inter eos reformatur.

Anno Domini m. trecenteſimo, congregato exercitu ſuo, profectus eſt in Scotiam, et ſtatim reverſus eſt, et ab illo tempore ab invicem inierunt treugas uſque ad feſtum Sancti Andreæ in hieme.

Anno Domini m.ccc. ſecundo, dominus rex Angliæ in anno ſequenti, ſcilicet, in feſtivitate Sancti Michaelis, tenuit Parliamentum ſuum apud London, et in eodem Parliamento captæ ſunt treugæ inter reges Angliæ et Franciæ uſque ad diem paſchæ, anno Domini m.ccc. tertio, a quo tempore paſchali majores de Scotia fecerunt exercitum ſuum tam magnum, quod nunquam talis exercitus hominum et equorum videbatur in illa terra, et hoc contra regem Angliæ; et dominus rex Angliæ a die dominica proxima poſt feſtum ſancti Johannis de Beverlaco, fecit moram apud Berewicke et Rockeſburge, exſpectando comites et barones Anglicanos cum populo Anglicano uſque ad feſtum Pentecoſtes proximo ſequens.

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Quibus congregatis, profectus eſt rex cum exercitu ſuo per regiam viam uſque ad aquam, quæ dicitur Mare Scottorum, et in illa aqua habuit rex unam pontem mirabiliter ex conjunctione navium conſtructam, et ex oppoſit[o] navium pontalium jacuit exercitus Scottorum, et dominus rex dimiſit ſuum exercitum, et ipſe rex cum ſuo exercitu pontem tranſivit; hoc videntes Scoti fugam inierunt, et debiles, qui fugere non potuerunt, erant interfecti. Deinde rex tenuit ſuum iter verſus Dunfermelin.[m]

[m] The Manuscript ends here, no continuation having been appended. A list of the reigns of the kings on the margin of a former folio concludes with these words, written in the same hand as the Chronicle,

Henr̃ fil̃ ejᵖ lvij añ. xix jurs.
Edward̃ fil̃ ejᵖ

thus proving that it was compiled during the reign of Edward the First. The prior portion, occupied with the early history of Britain, appears to have been framed for the purpose of showing the dependance of Scotland upon England.

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IV.

EXTRACTS FROM THE HISTORY OF WALTER DE HEMINGFORD.[n]

SCOTI INSURREXERUNT CONTRA REGEM, ET QUO MODO.

MENSE Mayo ejufdem anni, gens Scotorum perfida rebellare cœpit hoc modo. Comes de Warenna, cui rex nofter curam et cuftodiam totius regni Scotiæ vice fua et nomine commiferat, corruptionem æris caufans, dixit, fe ibi non poffe manere cum fanitate; manfitque in Anglia, in parte tamen aquilonis, et hoftes exulantes fegniter profecutus eft, quod fuit nobis inpofterum fons et origo mali. Thefaurarius etiam regis, dominus Hugo de Creffingham, homo pompofus et elatus, valde pecuniam dilexit,[o] et murum lapideum, quem ipfe dominus rex fuper novum foffatum apud Berewyk conftrui præceperat, non conftruxit; quod noftris evenit in fcandalum, ut patebit inferius. Jufticiarius vero regis, dominus Willelmus de Ormefby, præceptum regis profequens, omnes, qui regi Angliæ fidelitatem facere noluerant, abfque perfonarum diftinctione exulabat. Eratque quidam latro publicus, Willelmus Walays nomine, qui 1297.

[n] These extracts, taken from Hearne's edition of Hemingford's History of the reign of Edward the First, have been collated with and corrected by the Lansdowne MS. 239, which is unfortunately imperfect. Since the work abounds in authentic information respecting Scottish History, it is to be regretted that there is no edition excepting that of Hearne, which is of rare occurrence, and which might be rendered more valuable by the collation of manuscripts to which that Editor had not access.

[o] Cressingham enjoyed considerable preferment in the church; the frequent occurrence of his name in the lists of clergy, published by Prynne, gives that caustic individual the pleasure of lashing him as "a pluralist,"—"an insatiable pluralist,"—"an incorrigible pluralist." A document, which will be found in the Appendix, has reference to preferment held by Cressingham in Scotland, and resigned by him, as we may apprehend, to secure something better.

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multis temporibus exſulaverat. Hic, cum eſſet vagus et profugus, omnes exſulantes convocavit ad ſe, et factus eſt quaſi princeps eorum, et creverunt in populum multum. Huic etiam aſſociatus eſt ille miles Willelmus Duglas, qui in captione caſtri de Berewyk ſe cum ſuis regi noſtro dederat, ſalva ſibi vita et membris, ut ſupra dictum eſt. Quem cum rex ad omnia reſtituiſſet, factus eſt bonorum immemor, latro latroni ſociatus, liberatorem ſuum, ſaltem in ſubditis, perſecutus eſt in mortem.

Cumque prædicti comes et Theſaurarius ad partes perrexiſſent auſtrales, ut Parliamento regis intereſſe poſſent, quod in Feſto Sancti Petri ad Vincula Londoniis tenebatur, nihil mali ſuſpicantes in Scotis, ecce, prædicti domini Willelmi[p] cum populo perverſo venientes, credebant, ſe invenire poſſe Juſticiarium regis noſtri prædictum apud Scone, ubi placitaverat, et ut eum perimerent feſtinabant; ipſe tamen præmonitus cum difficultate evaſit, relinquens hoſtibus ſpolia multa. Quibus collectis, jam non in occulto, ut prius, ſed palam proceſſerunt, concludentes in ore gladii omnes Anglicos, quos ultra Mare Scotiæ invenire potuerunt, divertentes ſe poſtea ad obſidionem caſtrorum.

Interim, dum talia gererentur, Karliolenſis epiſcopus et ceteri viri, qui cum eo erant in præſidio civitatis ejuſdem et caſtri, timentes de infidelitate et inconſtantia domini Roberti de Bruys, junioris, comitis de Karrik, miſerunt, vocantes eum, ut certo die veniret, tractaturus cum eis de negotiis regis, ſi tamen in fide ipſius regis perſeverando maneret. Qui mandatis reſiſtere non audens, venit ad ipſum diem cum ipſo populo Galewaliæ, et ſuper Sacroſancta Myſteria juravit, et ſuper Gladium Sancti Thomæ juramentum præſtitit, quod regi noſtro et ſuis contra Scotos, et omnes inimicos ſuos, fideliter aſſiſteret in conſiliis et auxiliis, damnaque ſua impediret in quantum ſe poſſet ſua facultas extendere; factoque juramento, reverſus in locum ſuum, et congregato populo, ut colorem fingeret, proceſſit in terras prædicti Willelmi Duglas, et partem earum combuſſit igni, et uxorem ejus et parvulos ſecum adduxit in Vallem Anandiæ.

Cito tamen poſt, dum a conſpiratione Scotorum reverteretur ad propria, convocatis militibus patris ſui de terra Vallis Anandiæ, nam pater

[p] William Wallace, and William Douglas.

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ipſius in auſtralibus partibus Angliæ moram faciebat, hujus fraudis neſcius, dixit eis, "Chariſſimi mei, ſcitis, et verum eſt, quod nuper apud Karliel juramentum præſtiti, de quo ſcitis et audiſtis, ſtultum quidem et vi extortum. Nam timore ductus hoc feci corpore, ſed non mente, unde contriſtor et pœniteo valde. Spero tamen, me abſolutionis beneficium conſecuturum in brevi. Verum, quia carnem ſuam nemo unquam odio habuit, nec ego habeo, oportet ut vadam ad populum meum, et nationi meæ adjungar, ex qua procreatus[q] ſum. Rogo autem vos, ut illud idem facientes placeat vobis venire mecum, eritiſque mihi conſiliarii et amici chariſſimi." Cumque differrent reſponſionem in craſtinum, eadem nocte latenter receſſerunt, potius eligentes damna quantumcunque magna ad tempus ſuſtinere, quam fidelitatem regi noſtro factam, cum nota infamiæ infringere.

Ipſe vero aſpirans ad regnum, ſicut publice dicebatur, adjunctus eſt ad populum perverſum, et cum epiſcopo Glaſguenſi et Seneſcallo Scotiæ, qui totius mali fabricatores exſtiterant, confœderatus eſt. Extunc vero generatio illa perfida et infideles Scoti omnes Anglicos, quos invenire poterant, trucidabant. Religioſos etiam viros Anglicos e domibus ſuis, in quibus profeſſi fuerant, violenter extraxerunt, ex ipſis ſpectaculum facientes; erat enim ludus eorum, et ad ſpectaculum cum eis vacabant. Ad pontes namque aquarum multarum ſedentes ſenes Anglicos, religioſos, et feminas, quos ſpecialiter reſervabant ad hoc, ligatis manibus vel pedibus, ne forte natando evaderent, ex ipſis pontibus vel ſalire, vel præcipitari, faciebant, in interitu eorum et ſubmerſione lætantes. Inter quos adducti ſunt duo Canonici de domo Sancti Andreæ in Scotia, qui cum ad pontem villæ, nominatæ Sancti Johannis, coram illo latrone Willelmo Walays ſtarent, quaſi præ tribunali, mortem exſpectantes, ſubito ſalvavit eos Deus ſic. Venerunt enim nuncii cum feſtinatione maxima ex parte quorundam magnatorum regni Scotiæ, in quorum adventu præpeditus ille latro, præcepit, ut in ſalva cuſtodia ponerentur. Qui poſtea a cuſtodibus ſuis

[q] Hemingford's narrative here places Bruce in an exceedingly disadvantageous light, and it must be admitted that his early career was marked by much indecision. The large property which he held in England, together with the disunited state of parties in Scotland, proved a stumbling-block in his path. It must not be forgotten that by descent he was an Englishman, and probably so by affection as well as interest.

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per quofdam amicorum redemti funt, dato precio et præfato juramento, quod a regno feftinatione egreffi, nunquam illud iterum ingrederentur, quorum unus manfit apud nos per tempus aliquod, et periculum fuum ore proprio enarravit. Retulit etiam nobis, quod tres Anglici, qui in eadem villa Sancti Andreæ in Scotia manfionem fufceperant, cum a facie illius Willelmi Walays et fuorum fugiffent, in lapidem, illum fcilicet, qui dicitur Petra vel Acus Sancti Andreæ, credentes fe poffe[r] lapidis immunitate muniri, cum fancta mater ecclefia privilegium perdidiffet, a Scotis infecuti funt, et in eodem lapide interfecti.

QUIDAM SCOTORUM DEDERUNT SE NOSTRIS APUD IREWYNE.

Cum ad audientiam regis noftri talia perveniffent, de facili fidem non adhibuit, fed, miffo Dunolmenfi epifcopo, præcepit fuper hoc veritatem inquiri. Qui feftinando convolans, invenit multitudinem Scotorum conglobatam, cui refiftere non audebat, et reverfus ad regem, omnia per ordinem nunciavit. Rex vero in Flandriam quafi accinctus ad iter, tranffretandi propofitum mutare noluit, fed omnem militiam Eboracenfis comitatus a Trenta ufque in Scotiam ipfi comiti de Warenna affignans, præcepit, ut Scotorum audaciam feftinando reprimeret, et auctores mali debita juftitia caftigaret. Remifit etiam in terram Scotiæ ambos illos comites, Johannem de Badenaughe et Johannem de Bughan, præcipiens eis in fide fua, ut tumultum populi fedarent, et manerent in fidelitate promiffa. Quorum ille de Bughane colorem primo fimulans, cœpit reprimere quorundam audaciam, fed tamen in fine factus eft nobis de converfo perverfus. Alter vero de Badenaghe, fuorum animos mutare non valens, manfit cum noftris, faltem corpore, nefcio tamen utrum fide.

Comes vero de Warenna, de comitatu Eboracenfi exercitum congregans, præmifit interim ante fe cognatum fuum, dominum Henricum de Percy, qui, congregato exercitu comitatus Carliolenfis, Vallem Anandiæ ingreffus eft cum trecentis armatis, et quadraginta milibus peditum electorum, circa feftum beati Laurencii martyris [Aug. 10.] Cumque pernoctaffent noftri apud Loghmaban, non timentes fibi in aliquo, ecce,

[r] Instead of "posse," Hearne's text reads "post se."

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incolæ ejuſdem patriæ, eos exterrere volentes, quaſi nocte media conclamabant, non quidem Philiſtini, ſed Scoti ſuper vos. At illi currentes ad arma, mox unuſquiſque domum, in qua manſerat, accendit igni, et conglobati continuo receſſerunt cum lumine, profectique ſunt inde per modicas dietas uſque villam de Are juxta Galewaliam, ut ad pacem admitterent Galwalienſes. Cumque non veniſſent niſi pauci equeſtres, nunciatum eſt eis poſt triduum, quod Scotorum exercitus non diſtabat ab eis niſi ſpatio leucarum quatuor. At illi ſummo mane caſtra moventes, egreſſi ſunt in campum juxta Irewyne, ordinantes exercitum et ad bellum ſe parantes, eratque Scotorum exercitus ex parte altera cujuſdam laci modici, et mutuo ſe videbant.

Cumque magnates Scottorum, qui ibi aderant, epiſcopus ſcilicet Glaſguenſis, Seneſcallus Scotiæ, et Willelmus Duglas, viderent ſe eſſe impares equeſtribus noſtris, licet pedeſtres noſtros in duplo excederent, timuerunt ſibi, et, miſſis nunciis ad noſtros, petierunt, utrum eſſet ibi aliquis ex parte regis Angliæ, qui eos ad pacem recipere poſſet? Et reſponſo, quod ſic, confeſtim ad eos venit ſtrenuus ille miles Ricardus Lundy, qui nunquam regi noſtro fidelitatem fecerat, et ſe cum ſuis dedit voluntati regis noſtri, dicens, ſe nolle ulterius cum diſcordantibus et variantibus militare. Quod cum vidiſſent alii magnates nominati, conſternati ſunt, et continuo ſe dederunt prædicto domino Henrico de Percy, nomine regis noſtri, ſalvis eis vita et membris, terris et catallis, et quod condonarentur omnia uſque ad eundem diem, promiſſis obſidibus et inſtrumentis confectis, et conditionaliter admiſſi ſunt, ſi talia regi complacerent. Cumque reverterentur noſtri apud Irewyne, nunciatum eſt eis, quod multi ex Scotis et Galewalenſibus eorum ſarcinulas hoſtiliter deprædati ſunt, interfectis pluſquam quingentis viris cum mulieribus et parvulis; quos inſequentes, peremerunt ex eis circiter mille viros, et reverſi ſunt multiplicata præda.

QUOMODO DECEPTI SUNT NOSTRI ET DEVICTI APUD STRYVELYNE.

Adveniente apud Berewikum comite de Warenna, ei per ordinem prædicta nunciantur, et miſſis ad regem nunciis, voluntatem ipſius expetiit; qui exſiſtens in procinctu itineris, ut dictum eſt, noluit impediri, ſed

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pro bono pacis poſtulata conceſſit; factoque ad diem certum hujus reſponſo, adhuc differebant Scoti in cordibus ſuis, differentes obſides, quos promiſerant, et poſtulantes omnia jura ſua et antiquas conſuetudines, ſicut a rege Scotorum antiquitus tenere conſueverant. Quæ cum adhuc eſſent quaſi ſub certa ſpe concedendo promiſſa, iterum et iterum multiplicantur dies, et variantia ſemper et frivola ingerebantur, eo quod ille latro Willelmus Walays interim populum adjuvabat. Ad ultimum vero, cum noſtri proponerent equitare ſuper eos, timebant ſibi magnates Scotorum, et impoſuerunt culpam prædicto domino Willelmo Duglas et epiſcopo Glaſguenſi, qui notam criminis impoſiti excuſare volentes, ſponte dederunt ſe, primo ille Willelmus, et paulo poſt ipſe dominus epiſcopus; et traditus eſt epiſcopus ſub cuſtodia cuſtodis caſtri de Rokeſburghe vice et nomine regis noſtri. Ipſe vero Willelmus in caſtro de Berewyk poſitus eſt, retentus, et ſalvo cuſtoditus.

Quod cum audiſſet ille latro Willelmus Walays, iratus animo, perrexit ad domum epiſcopi, et omnem ejus ſuppellectilem, arma et equos, filios etiam epiſcopi, nepotum nomine nuncupatos, ſecum adduxit, et cinctus eſt immenſo Scotorum numero, eo quod communitas terræ ſequebatur eum, tanquam ducem et principem. Tota etiam familia magnatorum adhærebat ei, et licet ipſi magnates cum rege noſtro eſſent corpore, cor tamen eorum longe erat ab eo. Noſtri vero ſic irritati, cum nollent talia ulterius ſuſtinere, proceſſerunt armati ad villam de Strivelyn, ubi Seneſcallus Scotiæ, et comes de Levenax, et quidam alii magnatorum Scotiæ venientes, rogaverunt noſtros, ut adhuc ſuſtinerent per modicum, ſi forte ſuos et populum Scotorum pacificare poſſent quoquo modo. Quod cum eis eſſent conceſſum, iterato venientes, quarto ſcilicet idus Septembris, [Sept. 10] reſponderunt præciſe, quod eos juſtificare non poterant, promittentes tamen, quod ad auxilium noſtrorum venirent die craſtina cum ſexaginta equis armatis. Crediderunt que eis, et dimiſerunt eos. In receſſu autem eorum in veſperis, cum quibuſdam ex noſtris, a foragio revertentibus, obviaſſent, inſultum fecit in eos ille comes de Levenax, et collum unius peditis perforavit gladio. Quod cum in exercitu noſtro nunciatum eſſet, mox cucurrerunt ad arma, et vulneratum ſanguinolentum comiti de Warenna præſentarunt, petentes vindictam fieri, et ipſa nocte concla-

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mentes et dicentes ſeditionem fieri, et fidem fractam eſſe. Ad hoc comes, "Suſtinete," inquit, "nocte hac, ut, ſi in craſtinum promiſſa non compleverunt, majorem etiam in hoc facto ultionem expetamus." Præcepit tamen, ut omnes eſſent parati in craſtinum ad tranſeundum pontem de Strivelyn.

Mane autem facto, tranſierunt pontem pedeſtres noſtri pluſquam quinque millia et Wallenſes plures, iterumque revertebantur, eo quod comes noſter, ſomno depreſſus, in campum non exiſſet. Cumque poſt magnam horam ſurrexiſſet a ſomno, eſſentque omnes in campo armati, fecit ibidem novos milites, quorum quidam eadem die corruerunt. Interimque tranſierunt pedeſtres noſtri, et iterato reverſi ſunt, eo quod Seneſcallus Scotiæ veniebat cum paucis quidem, et non cum ſexaginta armatis, ut convenerat, credebantque noſtri ipſos fore bajulos boni nuncii, ſed excuſaverunt ſe et in facto prædicto, et quod gentem propriam juſtificare non poſſent, dicentes, ſe non poſſe ab eis eripere nec equos nec arma. Mittebantur etiam interim duos Fratres Prædicatores ad exercitum Scotorum, qui in altera parte montis ſupra monaſterium Skambſkynel[a] cum illo latrone Willelmo Walays latitabat, ſi forte pacem amplecti vellent, quam tendebant. At ille latro, "Renunciate," inquit, "veſtris, quod pro bono pacis non venimus, ſed parati ſumus ad pugnam, ad vindicandum ſcilicet et liberandum regnum noſtrum. Aſcendant ergo cum voluerint, et nos paratos invenient etiam in barbas eorum." Erant autem, ut dicebatur, centum octoginta equeſtres, et quadraginta milia peditum.

Cumque talia dicerentur noſtris, mox præſumtuoſi dicebant, "Aſcendamus ad eos, minæ enim ſunt." Sapientiores vero ſubjunxerunt, "Non aſcendamus adhuc, ſed provide deliberemus, quid nobis conſilium fuerit faciendum." Ad hæc ſtrenuus ille miles Ricardus Lundy, qui ſe noſtris dederat apud Irewyn, "Domini mei, ſi aſcenderimus pontem, mortui ſumus; non enim tranſire poterimus, niſi bini et bini, et hoſtes noſtri a latere ſunt, deſcenduntque ſuper nos, cum voluerint, omnes in una fronte. Sed eſt quoddam vadum non longe abhinc, ubi tranſire poterimus ſexaginta ſimul in una vice. Nunc ergo tradantur mihi quin-

[a] Cambuskenneth.

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genti equeſtres, et modica pars peditum, girabimuſque hoſtes a tergo, et debellabimus eos; interimque vos, domine comes, et ceteri, qui vobiſcum ſunt, pontem tranſibitis valde ſecuri." Noluerunt autem ſano adquieſcere conſilio, dicentes, non eſſe ſecurum ſe in partes dividere. Erant tamen quaſi mille equeſtres, et quinquaginta milia peditum univerſorum, præter populum, quem dominus Henricus de Percy de comitatibus Karlioli et Lancaſtriæ congregaverat, numeratum ad trecentos equites et octoginta milia peditum electorum, qui cum eſſet in veniendo cum ſuis verſus Strivelyn, modicum ante recepit in mandatis a domino Hugone de Creſſyngham, Theſaurario regis, ut eundem populum cum gratiarum actione remitteret, dicens, exercitum, quem habebant, ſufficere poſſe, nec expedire ipſos vexare in vanum, vel regis ærarium conſumere plus, quam neceſſe erat. Fecitque ſic, et indignatus eſt populus valde, volens eum quaſi lapidare.

Variis itaque varia cenſentibus, conclamabant quidam, ut pontem tranſcenderent, alii converſo, non. Inter quos adjecit ille Theſaurarius regis, homo quidem pompoſus et filius mortis, "Non expedit, domine comes, ulterius protelare negotium, et theſaurum regis noſtri in vanum exſpendere, ſed aſcendamus, et faciamus debitum noſtrum, ut tenemur aſtricti." Motus itaque comes in verbis iſtis, præcepit, ut pontem aſcenderent ut tranſirent. Mirum dictu, ſed terribile quid in eventu, quod tot et tanti diſcreti viri, dum ſcirent hoſtes in promtu, ſtrictum pontem aſcenderent, quem bini equeſtres vix et cum difficultate ſimul tranſire potuerunt. Quoniam, ut dicebant quidam, qui in eodem conflictu fuerant, ſi a ſummo mane uſque ad horam undecimam abſque ulla interruptione vel impedimento tranſiſſent, adhuc extrema pars exercitus in parte magna remaniſſet. Nec fuit aptior locus in regno Scotiæ ad concludendum Anglicos in manus Scotorum, et multos in manus paucorum.

Tranſierunt itaque vexillarii regis et comitis, et inter primos ſtrenuiſſimus ille miles dominus Marmeducus de Tweng. Cumque vidiſſent hoſtes tot jam eveniſſe, quot ſuperare potuerant, ut credebant, mox deſcenderunt de monte, et, miſſis viris lanceariis, occupaverunt pedem pontis, ita quod extunc nulli patebat tranſitus vel regreſſus, ſed in revertendo, ſicut et in feſtinando, ſuper pontem præcipitati ſunt multi et ſub-

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merſi. Deſcendentibus itaque Scotis de monte, dixit dominus Marmaducus conſociis ſuis, "Eſtne tempus, fratres, ut equitemus ad eos?" Quibus reſpondentibus, quod ſic, mox ſtimulatis equis mutuo congreſſi ſunt, et corruentibus quibuſdam ex Scotis, ceteri equeſtres quaſi omnes in fugam verſi ſunt. Quos cum inſequerentur fugientes ſic, dixit unus ex noſtris domino Marmeduco, "Domine mi, decepti ſumus. Non enim ſequuntur noſtri, et vexilla regis et comitis non comparent." Ad hæc reſpicientes retro, viderunt multos ex noſtris et vexillarios regis et comitis corruiſſe, dixeruntque, "Præcluſa eſt jam nobis via ad pontem, et a populo noſtro intercepti ſumus; melius eſt ergo, ut credamus nos aquæ periculo, ſi forte tranſire poſſimus, quam hoſtium cuneos penetrantes, quaſi pro nihilo corruamus. Difficilis, immo impoſſibilis, jam factus eſt nobis tranſitus per medium Scotorum." Ad hæc ille ſtrenuiſſimus Marmeducus, "Certe, chariſſimi, nunquam dicetur de me, quod gratis me ſubmerſerim. Abſit et hoc a vobis, ſed ſequimini me, et per medium eorum vobis viam faciam uſque ad pontem." Stimulatoque dextrario, mox irruit in hoſtes, et nunc hos, nunc illos cædens gladio, per medium tranſivit illæſus, patuitque via magna ſequentibus eum. Erat enim fortis robore, et ſtaturæ proceræ. Cumque ita ſtrenue militaret, nepos illius vulneratus et attonitus, equo ſuo interfecto, ſed ſtans tantum pedes, clamavit ad eum, "Domine mi, ſalva me." At ille, "Aſcende," inquit, "poſt me." Qui ait, "Non poſſum; defecit enim robur meum." Moxque conſocius ejus, armiger ejuſdem domini Marmeduci, deſcendens de equo ſuo, eum aſcendere fecit, et dixit domino ſuo, "Sequar te, domine, quocumque ieris," et ſecutus eſt eum uſque ad pontem, et uterque eorum ſalvatus eſt.

Apprehenſo itaque ponte per fortitudinem ſtrenue militantis, omnes extunc, quotquot ibi remanſerant, corruerunt, numero armatorum fere centum, et peditum quaſi quinque milia, inter quos trecenti Wallenſes, cum multos vita privaverant, tandem quidam ex eis, qui remanſerant, aquam natando tranſierunt. Unus etiam miles ex noſtris cum difficultate aquam tranſiit in equo armato. Corruit eodem die inter Scotos lanciarios prænominatus ille Theſaurarius domini regis, dominus Hugo de Creſſyngham, rector eccleſiæ de Ruddeby, et Capitalis Juſticiarius in Aſ-

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ſiſis Eboracum, qui cum eſſet præbendarius in multis eccleſiis, et multarum haberet curam animarum, nunquam tamen arma ſpiritualia vel caſulam induit, ſed galeam et loricam, in quibus corruit. Et qui gladio linguæ ſuæ multos olim exterruerat in judiciis multis, gladio tandem perverſorum occiſus eſt; quem excoriantes Scoti, diviſerunt inter ſe pellem ipſius in modicas partes, non quidem ad reliquias, ſed in contumelias. Erat enim pulcher et groſſus nimis, vocaveruntque eum non Theſaurarium, ſed Trayturarium regis, et verius hoc quam credebant; multos enim ſeduxit in die hac, ſed et ipſe ſeductus eſt, qui erat levis et lubricus, elatus ſuperbia et avaritiæ deditus.

In primo congreſſu noſtrorum cum Scotis, Seneſcallus Scotiæ et comes de Levenax, qui prius pacifice venerant, cum vidiſſent noſtros corruiſſe, confeſtim receſſerunt ad ſuos, qui in ſilvis latitabant juxta colles; qui nefandæ rei videntes eventum, egreſſi ſunt obviam noſtris, et multos particulariter fugientes peremerunt ibidem, ad colles aſportantes ſpolia multa, et quadrigas onuſtas abducentes. Non enim poterant quadrigæ vel ſummarii a fugientibus abduci de facili in lacubus et mariſcis. Comes vero noſter, citra pontem ſemper exſiſtens, reverſo domino Marmeduco cum ſuis, præcepit pontem frangi et comburi, et commiſſa cuſtodia ejuſdem caſtri de Strivelyn prædicto domino Marmeduco, promiſit ei fideliter data fide, quod infra primas decem hebdomadas veniret in ejus auxilium cum manu forti. Non tamen adimplevit quod promiſit, oblituſque fenectutis ſuæ, profectus eſt apud Berewyk cum feſtinatione tanta, quod dextrarius, in quo ſederat, in ſtabulo Fratrum Minorum poſitus, nunquam pabulum guſtavit. Deinde proceſſit ad filium regis in partes auſtrales, et reliquit patriam penitus deſolatam. Facta fuit confuſio hæc tertio idus Septembris, [Sept. 11] ſcilicet feria quarta, anno gratiæ ſupradicto.

SCOTI VASTAVERUNT QUASI TRES COMITATUS.

Poſt iſta nefanda principia, animati ſunt Scoti, et corda noſtrorum confuſa ſunt, Anglicique noſtri, qui remanſerant in Berewyk, juſte timentes ſibi, abierunt a loco ſuo, eo quod principem non haberent ſeu defenſorem, et cito poſt ingreſſi ſunt eam Scoti, invenientes eam vacuam, et quaſi ſcopis mundatam. Caſtrum tamen retinuerunt noſtri, et defenderunt

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illud. Northumbrenſes etiam timore perterriti, evacuerunt patriam ab uxoribus, et parvulis, et omni ſuppellectili, mittentes cum eis animalia uſque Novum Caſtrum et ſparſim per provincias, cumque diu morarentur Scoti, nec ſævirent, credebant in hoc Northumbrenſes, ipſos nolle fines ſuos egredi, et ſic ad propria reverſi ſunt, reducentes omnia. Quod cum didiciſſent Scoti per exploratores ſuos, mox et quaſi latenter Northumbriam ingreſſi ſunt, et circumducentes patriam, ſubito peremerunt multos, et prædas maximas aſportaverunt; et ex tunc erant Scoti ingredientes et egredientes ad libitum, cubantes in foreſta de Routhebiry, nec erat qui exterreret eos.

In tempore illo ceſſavit laus Dei in omnibus monaſteriis et eccleſiis totius provinciæ, a Novo Caſtro ſuper Tynam uſque Karliolum. Fugerant enim a facie Scotorum omnes monachi, Canonici Regulares, et ceteri ſacerdotes, miniſtri Domini, cum plebe quaſi tota. Vacabant itaque Scoti incendiis et rapinis a feſto Sancti Lucæ, [Oct. 18] uſque ad feſtum Sancti Martini, [Nov. 11] et non erat qui impediret, niſi quod viri quidam ex noſtris, qui erant in præſidio caſtri de Alnewyk et aliorum caſtrorum, aliquando exeuntes extremas eorum reliquias cædebant.[t]

In feſto vero Sancti Martini, et per octavas ſequentes, conglobati Scoti proceſſerunt ubique vaſtantes omnia, cumque veniſſent Karliolum, miſerunt ad urbem ſacerdotem quendam abſque levita, qui diceret hæc, "Mandat vobis dominus meus Willelmus conquæſtor, ut vitæ veſtræ conſulentes, abſque ſanguinis effuſione reddatis ei villam et caſtrum, dabitque vobis vitas, et membra, et omnia catalla veſtra. Quod ſi non feceritis, confeſtim expugnabit vos, et ad internetionem uſque delebit." At illi reſponderunt ei, "Quis eſt ille conquæſtor?" At ille, "Willelmus, quem Walays nominatis." Adjecerunt et illi, "Rex noſter," inquiunt, "curam et cuſtodiam civitatis iſtius et caſtri, vice et nomine ſuo, et heredum ſuorum, nobis tradidit, et credimus, eum non habere gratum, vel ratum habere velle, ut domino tuo Willelmo ea liberemus. Sed vade, et dic ei, ut, ſi ea habere voluerit, veniat ad modum boni conquæſtoris, et locum expugnet, habeatque, ſi poſſit, civitatem et caſtrum, et univerſa

[t] Hearne here adds, "in modica tamen parte seu."

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contenta." Moxque illo recedente, tetenderunt machinas, et ad reſiſtendum paraverunt ſe. Quod videntes Scoti, declinaverunt ab urbe, vaſtaveruntque univerſa per medium foreſtæ de Inglewode, Cumberland et Allendale,[u] uſque Derewent ad Kokermew. Non enim pepercit eorum oculus ordini, ſexui vel ætati, quin etiam eccleſias Dei concremantes, ejus ſanctuaria quaſi pro nihilo reputabant. Et cum eſſet Scotorum propoſitum, ut in epiſcopatu Dunolmenſi acies dirigerent, impedivit[v] eos Deus et glorioſus ejuſdem loci patronus, Sanctus Cuthbertus. Supervenit enim tempeſtas maxima grandinis, nivis et fortis gelu infra[w] eaſdem Octavas beati Martini, ita quod multi[x] Scotorum fame et frigore perierunt. Exploratores etiam eorum venientes, dicebant, eundem epiſcopatum armis præparatum et bene munitum immenſo populo, et tamen non erant centum armati, et vix tria milia peditum electorum. Qui licet multo plures ante ad reſiſtendum in confinio manſerant, eodem tamen tempore perterriti ad propria fugierunt. Sed deficiente populo, non defuit glorioſus ille Cuthbertus, quin, ut pie creditur, Scotorum propoſitum ſuis ſanctis precibus quaſſatum eſt.

Revertentes ergo Scoti a[xx] cæde prædicta, venerunt apud Hexcelſham, ubi tres Canonici ejuſdem domus, qui paulo ante redierant, mortem non timentes, cum vidiſſent venientem exercitum, fugerunt in oratorium ſuum, quod de novo conſtruxerant, ut, ſi ſic eſſet divina voluntas, ſacrificium ſibi fierent in odore[xxx] ſuavitatis; moxque ingreſſi ſunt ad eos viri lancearii vibrantes eis lanceas, et dicentes, "Oſtendite nobis theſauros eccleſiæ veſtræ, vel confeſtim moriemini." Ad hæc unus de[y] Canonicis; "Non," inquit, "diu eſt quod vos et populus veſter omnia quaſi veſtra aſportaſtis in terram veſtram, et ubi repoſuiſtis ea ſcitis. Nos vero extunc pauca quæſivimus, ſicut jam in præſenti videtis."[yy] Interim vero dux eorum ingreſſus eſt, ſcilicet Willelmus Walays, et comminabatur ſuis, ut recederent; rogavitque, ut eorum aliquis Miſſam celebraret, et ſtatim celebravit unus. Factaque elevatione, egreſſus eſt ille Willelmus ad deponendum arma ſua; et factum eſt, cum perveniret ſacerdos ad perceptionem ſacratiſſimi corporis et ſanguinis Chriſti, circumſteterunt eum Scoti

[u] Allerdale, *MS. Lansd.* [v] Impediunt, *L.* [w] inter, *L.* [x] Scoti multorum, *H.*
[xx] ad, *H.* [xxx] Eodem, *H.* [y] ex, *L.* [yy] This word omitted in *L.*

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multi, ut calicem abriperent. Cumque manus ablueret, et a ſacrario reverteretur altari, invenit calicem aſportatum, quem ſuper altare reclinaverat, manutergiaque et cetera ornamenta ipſius altaris. Nec erat ei liber, in quo finiret Miſſam inceptam, eo quod aſportaverant omnia. Et cum hæſitaret ſacerdos, quid eſſet faciendum, reverſus eſt ille Willelmus, et vidit hæc, præcepitque, ut quærerentur ſacrilegi, et capite plecterentur. Sed inventi non ſunt, utpote cum diſſimulatione quæſiti. Adjecitque ad canonicos, "Non," inquit, "a me recedatis quoquam, ſed mecum maneatis, ut ſalvemini. Populus enim iſte malitioſus[z] eſt, nec juſtificari poteſt ſeu caſtigari." Manſitque ibidem per duos dies, et populus ille perverſus diſperſus eſt per circumadjacentem provinciam, comburens incendio et vaſtans univerſa. Habuitque tunc ille Willelmus Walays ſocium in literis ſequentibus nominatum, qui eiſdem canonicis litteras ſuas protectorias conceſſerunt, conceptas in hac forma.

LITERÆ PROTECTORIÆ.

"Andreas de Moravia et Willelmus Wallenſis, duces exercitus regni Scotiæ, nomine præclari principis domini Johannis, Dei gratia regis Scotiæ illuſtris, de conſenſu communitatis regni ejuſdem, omnibus hominibus dicti regni, ad quos præſentes literæ pervenerint, ſalutem.

"Sciatis, nos, nomine dicti regis, Priorem et Conventum de Hexhildeſham in Northumbria, terras ſuas, homines ſuos, et univerſas eorum poſſeſſiones, ac omnia bona ſua mobilia et immobilia, ſub firma pace et protectione ipſius domini regis et noſtra juſte ſuſcepiſſe. Quare firmiter prohibemus, ne quis eis in perſonis, terris ſeu rebus, malum, moleſtiam, injuriam ſeu gravamen aliquod inferre præſumat, ſuper plenaria foriſfactura ipſius domini regis, aut mortem eis, vel alicui eorum inferat,[a] ſub pœna amiſſionis vitæ et membrorum: præſentibus poſt annum minime valituris. Dat. apud Hexhildeſham, .vij.° die Novembris."

"Andreas,[b] &c. Sciatis, quod ſuſcepimus unum canonicum de Hexildeſham, cum ſuo armigero, et duobus famulis ſuis, in ſalvum et ſecurum conductum regis noſtri et noſtrum, ad veniendum ad nos ubicunque fu-

[z] Malignus, *L.* [a] Omitted in *MS. Lansd.* [b] Alexander, *L.*

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erimus, quandocunque neceſſe fuerit et expediens dictæ domui. Et ideo vobis omnibus et ſingulis, nomine dicti domini regis, mandamus, firmiter injungentes, quatinus, cum aliquis canonicus dictæ domus, cum prædicto armigero et famulis ſuis, præſentes literas ſecum habens, cauſa veniendi ad nos, inter vos venerit, ipſos ſub ſalva cuſtodia ad nos ducatis, ita quod nullus eos in perſonis ſeu rebus moleſtet in aliquo, ſub regis plenaria foriffactura, aut mortem eis vel alicui eorum inferat, ſub pœna amiſſionis vitæ et membrorum: præſentibus ad voluntatem noſtram duraturis."

Egredientes tandem Scoti de loco illo, tetenderunt acies ſuas verſus Novum Caſtrum ex parte boriali de Tyne; et cum eſſent ex oppoſito illius villæ de Ritone, egreſſi ſunt viri quidam ex eadem villa, et maledicebant eis, non timentes eos, eo quod aqua ſuperabundaret hac in parte. Moxque ex Scotis tranſierunt multi, et eandem villam incendentes, continuo reverſi ſunt, fugientibuſque incolis, jam ſtatim rumor aſcendit, "Adveniunt Scoti!" crevitque clamor et ululatus eorum per provinciam totam, et fugerunt et ſecum aſportaverunt bona ſua, non quidem in gaudio, ſed in fletu; nec erat qui reſiſteret, ſeu ad reſiſtendum ſe pararet, niſi Dunelmenſes et cives de Novo Caſtro. Viri enim animoſi, qui erant in præſidio Novi Caſtri, paraverunt ſe ad pugnam, egredientes ab urbe, non longe tamen, eo quod perpauci fuerant reſpectu multorum. Quod videntes Scoti, declinaverunt ab urbe, et dividentes inter ſe ſpolia quæſita, tradiderunt Galwalenſibus partes ſuas, et abierunt in loca ſua.

CARLIOLENSES FECERUNT PRÆDAS IN VALLE ANANDIÆ.

Modicum ante Natale Domini, Dominus Robertus de Clifford, cum centum armatis de præſidio civitatis et comitatus Carliolenſis, et viginti milibus peditum electorum, ingreſſus eſt Vallem Anandiæ, ut prædaretur ibidem. Cumque tranſiſſent aquam de Sulewath, mox voce præconis conclamatum eſt, ut nulli[c] quicquam boni facerent, niſi tantum ſibimet ipſis. Quo audito, gaviſi ſunt pedeſtres, et continuo ad prædas diſperſi ſunt. Equeſtres vero maturo greſſu proceſſerunt, et ſimul. Cumque

[c] nullum, *H.*

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veniſſent in mora juxta Anandiam, ecce, incolæ ejuſdem provinciæ adunati, venientes, improperabant eis, vocantes eos, "Canes caudatos," et præ paucitate eos contemnentes, eo quod pedeſtres ſui longe fuerant ab eis ſeparati. Ad hoc autem exhortantes ſe noſtri, ad invicem congreſſi ſunt cum hac multitudine magna, et cæſis quibuſdam, reliquos in fugam converterunt, concluſeruntque eos in quodam mariſco, quouſque venientes pedeſtres, qui occiderunt ex eis treſcentos et octo viros, et quoſdam duxerunt captivos. Iterumque revertentes ad prædam, combuſſerunt plus quam decem villas ibidem infra limites parochiarum noſtrarum, et tandem reverſi ſunt Karliolum in vigilia Natalis Domini [Dec. 24] cum ipſis captivis et præda magna. Iterato etiam circa principium quadrageſimæ tranſierunt ibidem, et Vallem Anandiæ exſpoliantes, ignem appoſuerunt. Qui accenſus crevit in immenſum, et combuſſit eandem eccleſiam noſtram;[d] et ſic captis ſpoliis et quibuſdam captivis reverſi ſunt, et extunc vacabant mutuis incendiis et rapinis.

QUOMODO COMITES PROCESSERUNT IN SCOTIAM.

Rex etiam noſter per literas ſuas ſpeciales rogavit eoſdem comites, et ceteros magnates, qui remanſerant in Anglia, ut, ſicut ſuum et totius terræ Anglicanæ honorem diligerent, cum feſtinatione parati procederent in Scotiam cum comite de Warenna, quem ſuo loco præfecerat, ut Scotorum audatiam et reprimerent et caſtigarent; præfixitque eis terminum, in octavis ſcilicet Sancti Hillarii [Jan. 20] apud Eboracum, ut interim pararentur et convenirent ibidem, ex tunc in ſuos hoſtes proceſſuri. Miſit etiam rex literas ſuas ad magnates Scotiæ, ut, ſi in fide et in fidelitate ſua manerent, ſicut in receſſu ſuo ſe remanere promiſerant, ad Parliamentum ſuum apud Eboracum, quod per comites ſuos in craſtino Sancti Hillarii [Jan. 14] celebrandum ſtatuerat, abſque omni cavillatione venirent, alioquin ex tunc velut hoſtes publici tenerentur. Ad quam quidem diem convenerunt comites noſtri, iſti ſcilicet, comes de Warenna, qui locum regis tenens perſonam ipſius præſentabat in hoc, comes Glouceſtriæ, cum 1297.

[d] The monks of Gisburn in Yorkshire, of which establishment Hemingford was a member, had a church in Annandale, the gift of their founder, Robert de Bruce.

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comitiſſa uxore ſua filia regis, comes Mareſcallus, comes Hereforde nſis, comes de Arundell, et Gwydo filius comitis de Warewyk, patris locum tenens: barones etiam iſti, ſcilicet, Henricus de Percy, Johannes Wake, Johannes de Segrave, et magnates plurimi. Communicatoque conſilio, voluerunt, ut conſtaret communi populo de confirmatione Magnæ Cartæ et Cartæ de Foreſta; unde lecta Magna Carta cum articulis inſertis, quos enumeravimus ſupra, de præcepto eorum Karliolenſis epiſcopus, pontificalibus indutus, excommunicationis ſententiam in omnes ejus violatores fulminavit.

Cumque non venirent Scoti neque mitterent, ſtatuerunt, ut in Octavis ſequentibus apud Novum Caſtrum ſuper Tynam omnis numeraretur populus expeditus ad pugnam, et ſic continue procederetur in hoſtes. Venientes autem ibidem, numeraverunt populum univerſum, et inventa ſunt duo milia equorum armatorum cum aſcenſoribus electis, et aliorum equitantium plus quam mille ducenti, peditum autem cum Wallenſibus plus quam centum milia; et proceſſerunt continuo uſque ad confinia regionum, et ſingulis diebus augebatur eorum numerus, et in pedeſtribus et in equitibus.* Cumque ſciviſſent Scoti adventum eorum validum, timuerunt, et relinquentes obſidionem caſtri de Rokeſburg, quod multo jam tempore oppugnaverant, eo quod tenebatur ibidem epiſcopus Glaſguenſis, fugerunt a facie Anglorum, ingreſſique ſunt noſtri et villam et caſtrum, conſolantes obſeſſos, et vulneratis et attonitis medelam adhibentes, confirmatoque caſtro digreſſi ſunt uſque Kelſhow. Inde revertentes ad Berewyk ſuper Twedam, invenerunt eam vacuam, eo quod fugerant Scoti, audito eorum ingreſſu in terram; et Anglicis caſtrenſibus, qui multo jam tempore a Scotis fuerant oppugnati, facta eſt lætitia magna in admiſſione ſuorum. Cumque noſtrorum fuiſſet voluntatis et propoſiti, ut ad perdendum Scotorum exercitum dirigerent acies ſuas, ecce, a rege noſtro novum emanavit mandatum. Supervenit enim, quaſi in principio Quadrageſimæ, miles quidam cum literis regis ad prædictum comitem de Warenna, ceteroſque comites et alios ſuos fideles, continentibus in parte ſic, quod ipſe rex, auctore Domino, negotia ſua tranſmarina jam bene pro

* equis, *L.*

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voto expedierat; et in propria perſona properaret ad eos in Scotiam, cum omni feſtinatione qua poſſet, adjiciens, ut ante ipſius adventum nihil quid magnum attemtaretur in Scotis, nec ſe ullo diſcrimini manciparent, ſed ſi villam de Berewyk poſſent adipiſci, manerent ibidem, citum ejus adventum præſtolantes.

Accepto itaque hujus mandato, elegerunt ex univerſis armatis mille quingentos viros in equis armatis, et circiter viginti milia peditum electorum, qui venerant ex Wallia, et ex remotioribus partibus terræ, remittentes ad propria ceteros uſque ad adventum regis. Manſeruntque ſic in eadem villa de Berewyk, exſpectantes regis adventum, et ſemper ſuis hoſtibus ad reſiſtendum parati.

QUOMODO FESTINAVIT REX CUM EXERCITU CONTRA SCOTTOS.

Anno Domini m.cc.° nonageſimo octavo, poſtquam reverſus eſt rex a Flandria, ſtatuit Parliamentum ſuum apud Eboracum, in feſto Pentecoſtes, præmiſitque literas ſuas ad magnates Scotiæ, ut, ſi in fidelitate ſua, in qua eos dimiſerat, adhuc perſiſtendo manerent, in eodem Parliamento modis omnibus ſe abſque ulla excuſatione præſentarent; alioquin, omni ambiguitate poſtpoſita, eos velut hoſtes publicos cenſeret hoſtiliter, et cum omni feſtinatione, expetendos. Cumque non venirent neque mitterent, ordinavit rex cum optimatibus ſuis, qui ibidem occurrerant ei ab urbe de Berewick, et in oſculo pacis ab eo ſuſcepti ſunt, ut in craſtino Nativitatis beati Johannis Baptiſtæ apud Rokeſburgh, cum equis et armis omnes ſui fideles convenirent. Interim vero viſitavit rex ſanctum Johannem de Beverlaco, ſicut et aliis vicibus in redeundo et eundo facere conſuevit. Adveniente itaque Nativitate Baptiſtæ, convenerunt omnes in loco nominato. Et numeratus regis excercitus cum comitibus ſuis et Dunelmenſi epiſcopo, tria millia electorum in equis armatis, præter equitantes armatos in equis non armatis, qui numerabantur plus quam quatuor millia electorum. De excercitu autem pedeſtri non curavit rex illa vice, eo quod non artabantur aliqui, niſi qui gratis venire voluerunt. Numerati tamen ſunt pedeſtres qui aderant, et inventi ſunt octoginta millia, qui quaſi omnes erant Hibernici et Walenſes. Multi etiam venerunt poſtmodum de Waſconia, circiter quingenti armati in equis optimis et armis pulcherri- 1298.

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mis. Quorum quidam mittebantur a rege ad cuſtodiendam villam de Berwike, et manſerunt ibi uſque poſt commiſſum prœlium cum gente Scottorum.

Interim comites noſtri Mareſcallus et Herfordenſis, propter quædam audita dubitantes de mutatione voluntatis regiæ, in confirmatione Cartarum Libertatis et Foreſtæ, eo quod confirmaverat eas in terra aliena, dixerunt ſe ulterius procedere non debere, niſi major fieret ſecuritas et de equitatione foreſtæ, et de ceteris articulis poſtulatis. Verum quia in perſona propria principem jurare non licet, et eos placare vellet, præcepit rex, et juraverunt in animam ejus Dunelmenſis epiſcopus, comes de Warenna, comes Gloceſtriæ et comes Lincolnienſis, quod in reditu ſuo, obtenta victoria, omnia perimpleret ad votum. Quo facto, et omnibus ad expeditionem belli præparatis, proceſſerunt turmatim per modicas dietas, vaſtantes et incendentes univerſa, neminem tamen invenire poterant, qui de Scottorum excercitu informaret eos. Cumque veniſſet rex apud Templehiſton,[f] et moratus ibi fuiſſet per dies aliquot, nunciatum eſt ei, quod Scotti, qui erant in præſidio caſtri de Drilton,[g] cum duobus caſtellis finitimis, quæ quidem caſtella rex præterierat, multas agebant prædas, et extrema caſtrorum ſuorum, dum ad paleas mitterentur, cedebant aliquando. Statimque accito Dunelmenſi epiſcopo, miſit eum ibi, ut ea obſideret. Qui cum inſultum feciſſet ad caſtrum de Drilton per dies aliquot, refiſterunt fortiter, et ex inſilientibus paucos peremerunt, deficientibuſque ligneis machinis et victualibus, eo quod non habebant quod comederent niſi piſas et fabas, quas excutiebant in campis, miſit epiſcopus nuncios ad regem, qui ejus voluntatem expeterent. Et erat miſſus ille ſtrenuiſſimus miles Johannes Marmeduche; cui dixit rex, "Revertere," inquit, "et dic epiſcopo, quod homo pietatis eſt in quantum epiſcopus, non tamen oportet in hoc facto opera[h] pietatis exercere." Et applaudens militi ait, "Tu autem homo crudelis es, et præ nimia crudelitate tua aliquoties redargui te, eo quod exſultando gaudes in mortem inimicorum tuorum. Sed nunc quidem vade, et omnem tuam excerce tyrannidem, nec quidem vituperabo ſed laudabo te. Et cave, ne faciem meam videas, quouſque

[f] Templehyston, *L.* [g] Driltone, *L.* [h] opem, *L.*

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incendantur illa tria caſtra." Cui ille, "Et quo modo hoc faciam, domine mi rex, cum ſit mihi valde difficile?" Et rex ad eum, "Vade," inquit, "quia faciens facies, et fidem mihi dabis quod hoc facies." Dataque benedictione, dimiſit eum; et ipſe veniens ad epiſcopum, nunciabat ei omnia verba hæc. Interim viſitavit eos Dominus. Venerunt enim eis cum victualibus tres naves onuſtæ, unde reaſſumtis viribus, acrius ſolito inſultum fecerunt, ita quod attoniti caſtrenſes dederunt ſe poſt biduum, ſalvis ſibi bonis, vita et membris, miſſiſque novis militibus ad alia caſtra, ut ſuæ novitatis gloriam exercerent, invenerunt ea vacua et igni ſuccenderunt. Et ſic captis et ſuccenſis illis tribus caſtellis, reverſi ſunt ad regem cum gaudio et gloria.

Dum fere per menſem talia gererentur, defecerunt victualia regi. Non enim venerant naves per mare occidentis, ſicut præordinaverat rex, quia contrarius fuerat eis ventus; venerant tamen quædam cum ducentis doliis vini et victualibus paucis, quæ quidem dolia, ſtatim, ex præcepto regis, diſtributa ſunt per excercitum. Dataque ſunt Wallenſibus duo dolia vini ad refocillandas eorum animas, eo quod valde defecerant et moriebantur glomeratim. Qui cum deguſtaſſent, continuo inebriati ſunt, et rixantes cum Anglicis, extenderunt manus noxias in Chriſtos Domini, perimentes ex eis octodecim perſonas, et aliis quamplurimis vulneratis. Quod cum audiſſent equeſtres, turbati ſunt, et armati continuo proceſſerunt in mortem eorum, occiſiſque octoginta Wallenſibus, reliquos in fugam converterunt. Mane quidem facto, dixerunt quidam regi, "Ecce, Wallenſes ſupra modum irati propter rixam heſternam, ſe Scottis conjungere et dare diſponunt, niſi per te, O rex, ad bonum pacis revocentur." Et erat tunc eorum numerus quaſi quadraginta millia. Et ait rex, "Quæ cura, ſi hoſtes hoſtibus conjungantur? Uterque enim eorum hoſtis noſter eſt; vadant ergo quo voluerint, quoniam, auctore Domino, in uno die vindicabimur de utriſque." Quod cum audiſſent illi, ſecuti ſunt regem, ſed tamen a longe; dicebatur enim, quod ſi vidiſſent Scottos in aliquò prævalere, ſe ſtatim ipſis conjunxiſſent etiam in mortem Anglorum. Diſſipavit tamen Dominus imaginationes has; nam cito poſt, cum ingrueret in caſtris fames valida, et diſpoſuit rex redire ad Edinburch, ut per mare orientis reciperent victualia, et alia via contra Scottos graderentur: ecce!

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duo comites, Patricius ſcilicet et de Anegos, die proxima ante feſtum Mariæ Magdalenæ, [Jul. 21,] ſummo diluculo ad epiſcopum Dunelmenſem venientes, et cum eis epiſcopus, ſtatim ad regem, ſtatuerunt puerum exploratorem, coram rege, qui diceret, "Salve rex," et rex ad eum, "Salveris," inquit, et intulit puer, "Domine mi rex, excercitus Scottorum et omnes hoſtes tui non diſtant a te niſi per ſex leucas modicas juxta Faukyrke in foreſta de Falkyrk.[i] Et audito hoc, quod redire diſponis ad Edinburghe,[ii] jam ſtatuerunt ſequi te, et irruere in caſtra tua nocte ſequenti, vel ſaltem cædere et diripere extrema caſtrorum tuorum." Et ait rex, "Vivit Dominus, qui uſque huc eruit me ab omni auguſtia, non erit neceſſe ut ſequantur me, quoniam procedam eis in obviam, etiam die hac." Statimque præcepit, ut armarentur omnes, nec tamen diceretur, quo procedere vellet. Ipſe autem rex armatus præ ceteris aſcendit in equum, et exhortabatur alios ad arma capienda. Et ore proprio loquebatur ad eos, qui vendebant mercimonia, ut deliberate componerent ſarcinulas ſuas, et ſequerentur omnes eum, nec expaveſcerent. Omnibus itaque præparatis, proceſſit rex hora quaſi tertia a loco illo Templehiſton,[k] dirigens greſſus ſuos verſus locum nominatum de Faukyrk. Mirabantur omnes, quod mutaſſet propoſitum, et lente paſſimque procedebant abſque feſtinatione ulla. Cumque veniſſet[l] in mora citra Linliſcoch,[m] pernoctaverunt ibidem, et requieſcebant in terra, componentes ſcuta pro cervicalibus et pro lectualibus arma. Equi etiam ſui non guſtabant quicquam niſi ferrum durum, tenebanturque ſinguli juxta dominos ſuos. Dumque pauſaſſent modicum, et nox[n] quaſi in ſuo medio proceſſiſſet, contigit, quod dextrarius regis incautius a puero cuſtoditus, recalcitrando pedem poſuit ſuper ipſum regem quieſcentem. Et audito hoc, regem, ſcilicet, eſſe læſum, ſtatim aſcendit clamor, ſeditionem fieri, et hoſtes eſſe paratos[o] ad irruendum in eos. Qui continuo paraverunt ſe, et ad congrediendum animati ſunt. Cognita tamen rei [ſerie, et regem modicum eſſe][p] læſum, compatiebantur ei, et requievit ſpiritus eorum.

Statimque aſcendente rege, profecti ſunt et tranſierunt villam de Lin-

[i] Selkyrke, *L.* [ii] Edenesburch. [k] Templehystone. [l] venissent. [m] Linlystoch, *L.*
[n] Non, *Hearne.* [o] parati, *L.* [p] The words from *serie* to *esse* are faultily omitted in *L.*

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lifcoth in aurora diei; cumque levaffent oculos, et in oppofitum[q] montem refpexiffent, viderunt in fupercilio montis lanceareos multos. Et credentes ibi effe Scottorum excercitum, feftinaverunt afcendere per turmas fuas, fed tamen ibidem venientes neminem invenerunt. Fixeruntque tentorium ibidem, et audierunt miffam Magdalenæ rex et epifcopus, erat enim feftum ejufdem diei. Dumque facrofancta fierent folemnia, et mutuo fe cognofcere poffent homines, ex clara luce viderunt noftri Scottos a remotis bella conftruere, et ordinare fe ad pugnam. Statuerunt enim Scotti omnem plebem fuam per turmas quatuor, in modum circulorum rotundorum, in campo duro, et in latere uno cujufdam[r] montifcilii juxta Fawkirke. In quibus quidem circulis fedebant viri lancearii, cum lanceis fuis obliqualiter erectis; conjuncti quidem unufquifque ad alterum, et verfis vultibus in circumferentiam circulorum. Inter circulos illos erant fpatia quædam intermedia, in quibus ftatuebantur viri fagittarii; et in extrema parte retrorfum erant equeftres[s] eorum.

Cumque, audita miffa, regi noftro talia dicerentur, hæfitavit et propofuit, ut tentoria figerent, quoufque guftaffent aliquid homines et jumenta. Non enim guftaverant ab hora diei præcedentis tertia. At illi dixerunt ei, "Non eft fecurum hoc, O rex, quia inter hos duos exercitus, non eft nifi torrens permodicus." Et ait rex, "Quid ergo?" et inquiunt, "Equitemus in nomine Domini, quoniam campus nofter eft et victoria noftra." Et ait rex, "Fiat ergo fic, in nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti." Statimque comites primæ aciei, fcilicet, comes Marefcallus, comes Herfordenfis et comes Lincolnienfis, direxerunt aciem fuam linealiter ad hoftes, nefcientes lacum intermedium bituminofum; quem cum vidiffent, circumduxerunt eum verfus occidentem, et fic in parte retardati funt. Acies vero fecunda, filicet Dunelmenfis epifcopi, quæ conftituta fuerat ex fex et triginta vexillariis electis, fciens impedimentum laci illius, tendebat ad orientem, ut eum circumduceret. Quam fupra modum feftinantem, ut primos belli ictus fufciperet, cum ipfe epifcopus præftolari juffiffet ufque ad appropinquationem[t] regis tertiæ aciei, refpondit ei[u] ille

[q] compositum, *L.* [r] This and the following word are omitted by the Lansd. MS.
[s] The Lansd. MS. here erroneously reads "pedestres." [t] propinq. *C.* [u] ei omitted in *C.*

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miles ſtrenuus Radulphus Baſſet de Drayton,[v] et ait, "Non eſt tuum, epiſcope, docere nos in præſenti de militia, qui te intromittere debes de miſſa. Vade quidem,"[w] inquit, "miſſam celebrare, ſi velis,[x] quoniam die hac, quæ ad militiam pertinent, nos omnes faciemus." Feſtinaveruntque, et primo Scottorum circulo ſe ſtatim poſt[y] conjunxerunt; comites vero prædicti cum acie prima ex parte altera convenerunt.

Moxque venientibus noſtris, fugerunt Scottorum equeſtres abſque ullo gladii ictu, paucis tamen remanentibus, et hi quidem ad ordinandum circulos pedeſtrium, qui quidem circuli vocabantur Schiltroms.[z] Inter quos frater Seneſcalli Scotiæ, cum ordinaſſet viros ſagittarios de foreſta de Selkyrke, caſu ex equo cecidit, et inter eoſdem ſagittarios occiſus eſt. Circumſteterunt enim[a] eum iidem ſagittarii, et cum eo corruerunt, homines quidem elegantis formæ et proceræ ſtaturæ.[b] Peremtis vero ſagittariis, dederunt ſe noſtri ad Scottos lanceareos, qui, ut dictum eſt, ſedebant in circulis cum lanceis obliquatis et in modum ſilvæ condenſæ. Dumque non poſſent equeſtres ingredi præ multitudine lancearum, percuſſerunt exteriores et perforaverunt[c] plures lanceis ſuis. Sed et pedeſtres noſtri ſagittabant eos, et quidem allatis rotundis lapidibus, quorum erat ibi multitudo copioſa, lapidabant eos; et ſic multis interfectis et aliis attonitis, qui in extrema parte circulorum exſtiterant, recurvabantur in alios reliqui exteriores, et ingreſſi ſunt equeſtres vaſtantes omnia. Corrueruntque ex Scottis in die illa, præter ſubmerſos multos, quorum neſcitur numerus, et præter quaſi viginti equeſtres, quinquaginta millia peditum numeratorum.[cc] Erat autem Scottorum excercitus numeratus, ut dicebant qui capti ſunt, quaſi mille equeſtres armati,[ccc] et peditum quaſi trecenta millia. Salvavitque Dominus noſtros, nec cecidit homo valoris in omni prœlio, niſi ſolus[d] Magiſter Militiæ Templi,[e] qui inſequendo fugientes in quodam lacu interceptus[f] eſt et occiſus.

Obtenta, ut dictum eſt, a Scottis victoria, proceſſerunt aliqui ex comitibus noſtris, inſequente poſtmodum rege, uſque ad Sanctum Andream

[v] "de Drayton" omitted in *C.* [w] "quidem" omitted in *C.* [x] vis, *C.* [y] "statim post" omitted in *C.* [z] Sceltromus, *L.* Scheltromis, *C.* [a] "enim" omitted in *C.* [b] itaque, *L.*, *C.* [c] perforabant, *C.* [cc] electorum. [ccc] dampnati. [d] templi solus, *C.* [e] His name was Brian de Jay, as appears from several documents connected with him. [f] interemptus, *C.*

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et Villam[g] ſancti Johannis vaſtantes omnia; nec erat ex Scottis qui reſiſteret, vel inveniretur ab eis. Diverteruntque noſtri per medium foreſtæ de Selkyrke uſque caſtellum de Aree, et invenerunt illud vacuum et incenſum. Audito enim adventu regis, fugit a facie ejus Robertus de Bruſe, junior, et incendit illud caſtrum quod tenuerat. Cumque fuiſſet voluntatis regiæ, ut tunc Gallwalliam ingrederetur, deficiente tamen pane, defecit et propoſitum ejus: non enim venerant naves quas credebat, et per quindecim dies erat in caſtris fames valida. Reverſique ſunt per medium Vallis Anandiæ, et redditum eſt regi caſtellum de Lohmaban, datis vita et membris his qui tenuerunt illud.

Interim veniebat ex Hibernia quidam nobilis, Thomas Byſeth,[h] et in auxilium Scottorum, ut communiter dicebatur. Qui cum applicuiſſet in inſula de Aree, et ſe dediſſent ei incolæ illius, audiſſetque ab incolis, regem noſtrum belli obtinuiſſe victoriam, miſit ad eum nuncios, dicens, ſe veniſſe in auxilium ejus, et adquiſiſſe jam nomine ipſius eandem inſulam de Aree, quam ſibi et heredibus ſuis ab ipſo rege petiit perpetuis temporibus poſſidendam; acceptavitque rex mittentis factum et petitionem, quam fecerat, abſque conſilio comitum confirmavit. Quod audientes comites, ſcilicet Mareſcallus et Herfordenſis, admirati ſunt, eo quod promiſerat, ſe nihil novi facturum abſque eorum aſſenſu et conſilio; et cum eſſet rex apud Karliolum, petierunt a rege repatriandi licentiam, allegantes jacturam maximam et fatigationem hominum et equorum, receſſeruntque ſic, et remanſit ibidem rex cum magnatibus plurimis, tenuitque parliamentum ſuum juxta octavas Beatæ virginis Mariæ,[i] et aſſignavit et dedit in ſpe magnatibus ſuis terras multas magnatorum regni Scotiæ, ſcilicet, comitatus comitibus, et baronias baronibus; vallem tamen Anandiæ, nec Galualiam, et quoſdam comitatus nemini aſſignavit. Sed, ut dicitur, ex cauſa diſtulit, ne excandeſcerent comites, qui paulo ante receſſerant, nec ſortiti ſunt partem inter pares ſuos. Quo facto, reverſus eſt rex uſque Dunelmum, volens iter ſuum dirigere ad partes auſtrales; ſed accepto nuncio, quod coadunarent ſe Scotti, reverſus eſt, et fere uſque ad

[g] Pert cum villa, *L.*, *C.*

[h] Thomas scilicet de Byseth, *L.* "nobilis, scilicet Baseth" in *C.*

[i] infra, *C.*

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Natale moratus apud Tinemowe. Natale vero apud Cothyngham juxta Beverlacum.

1300. Anno Domini m.ccc. rex, congregato exercitu, profectus eſt in Scotiam circa Feſtum Beati Johannis Baptiſtæ, ubi initis treugis uſque ſequens Pentecoſten, reverſus eſt poſt tempus modicum ad partes auſtrales, tenuitque Parliamentum ſuum in ſequenti quadrageſima apud Stanfordiam, et monebantur[k] proceres de equitatura Foreſtæ nondum completa,[l] et in locis aliquibus nondum incepta. Cumque orirentur verba, et a multis fierent comminationes occultæ, timuit rex, et iratus[m] animo lenibus blandiſque[n] ſermonibus delinivit, promiſitque et plus ſolito tenuit equitaturam Foreſtæ eodem anno fieri debere, et ita factum eſt.

1301. Anno Domini m.ccc. primo, finitis treugis in feſto Pentecoſtes inter regem et Scotos initis, congregavit rex exercitum, et circa feſtum beati Johannis Baptiſtæ in Scotiam profectus eſt, hiemavitque ibidem, et Natale ſuum tenuit apud Linlyſcoth, perdiderunt ſui equos multos propter defectum foragii et frigoris hiemalis. Miſitque rex Franciæ nuncios et literas pro Scotis, ut, ad rogatum ipſius, inirentur treugæ, ſaltem uſque ad feſtum Omnium Sanctorum. Et quia rex ſororem ſuam de novo duxerat, noluit ei contradicere, ſed rogata conceſſit, appoſitiſque cuſtodibus in confinio, reverſus eſt Londoniis, et parliamentum ibidem tenuit in medio quadrageſimæ.

1302. Anno Domini m.ccc.ii. elapſis treugis, miſit rex robur excercitus in Scotiam, cum domino Johanne de Segrave et fratribus ſuis, erant enim milites ſtrenuiſſimi. Cumque non timerent ſibi, et erant juxta Edenbourgh, in principio quadrageſimæ, nec ſcirent Scotorum inſidias, dimiſerunt ſe noſtri per tres turmas, et diſtabant ab invicem quaſi per duas leucas. Eratque ipſe dominus Johannes cum trecentis armatis proximior hoſtibus, qui latebant eum. Et ecce, puer unus ex ſuis ſummo diluculo primæ Dominicæ Quadrageſimæ[o] veniens, nunciavit ei, hoſtes ad manum

[k] Movebantur, *L.*, *C.* [l] Expleta, *C.* [m] Iratos, *C.*
[n] "Blandis" omitted in *C.* [o] Deleted in *L.*

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eſſe. Conſuluitque, ut revertetur ad conſocios et conglobati non timerent; ſed noluit ſuæ ſtrenuitati notam impingi, ut retrocederet. Imo armatus proceſſit eis obviam, ceciderunt que multi hinc et inde, et ipſe lethaliter vulneratus eſt et captus. Captique ſunt cum eo plus quam viginti milites electi, ſed ſupervenientibus quibuſdam ex noſtris de ſecunda turma, rapuerunt eum a cuſtodibus ſuis et abduxerunt. Corruit etiam ibi dominus Radulphus le Cofrer,[p] qui ex parte regis ſtipendia miniſtrabat. Et reverſi ſunt alii in Angliam, deferentes ſiniſtra nova regi.

Miraculoſe, ut creditur, eadem Dominica contigit, quod dominus Robertus de Neveill[pp] cum ſuis Miſſam audiebat ſummo mane, neſciens quid interim ageretur; qua peracta, feſtinavit, ut cum prædicto domino Johanne capitaneo excercitus loqueretur, obviavitque fugientibus, et per ipſum et ſuos liberati ſunt captivi multi, et Scoti in magna parte retrogreſſi, nec corruit unus ex eis qui Miſſæ intererant, nec aliquis captus ſeu vulneratus.

Eodem anno, poſtquam audierat rex ſuos corruiſſe in Scotia, ut prædictum eſt, congregavit excercitum copioſum, et convenerunt ad eum omnes ex edicto in feſto Pentecoſtes apud Rokeſbourgh, profectuſque eſt per dietas modicas prædas agens multas, incendens et quaſi devaſtans omnia, perluſtravitque terram et omnes montes uſque Catheneſſe, nec erat qui reſiſteret ei, fugerant enim ad paludes et inſulas quaſdam finitimas. Videntes autem Scoti, ſe nullo modo poſſe reſiſtere, miſerunt ad regem, rogantes humiliter ea quæ pacis ſunt. Et ſi permittere vellet, quod terras ſuas, quas ſuis magnatibus dederat et promiſerat ante, poſſent ſub eo pacifice poſſidere et tenere, libenter eas redimerent dato precio. Placuitque regi ſermo, et ex clementia regia ſuſcepit eos ad pacem modo prædicto, in feſto ſancti Michaelis ſubſequentis. Reverſuſque eſt et obſedit caſtrum Stryvelyn, quod prius obſidere gratis prætermiſerat, ut ſui ſcilicet fugientes ab eo per manus hoſtium pertranſire timerent, hiemavitque ad Dunfermelyn, et ibi venit ad eum uxor ſua regina, quæ apud Tynemw diu manſerat. 1303.

[p] Le Coffrere, *L.*

[pp] Nevyl, *L.*

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Tranſactoque hieme, fortius ſolito inſultum fecit ad caſtrum; habuit enim ligneas machinas multas projicientes lapides ponderis centum, ducentarum, vel treſcentarum librarum; concuſſeruntque muros, et demolierunt excelſa murorum continuatis ictibus et adhuc ſe dare noluerunt obſeſſi, ſed viriliter defenderunt ſe cum machinis ſuis, et multos occiderunt. Juſſitque rex in dies impleri foſſatum cum ramis et lignis; ſed illi, igne appoſito, omnia combuſſerunt. Ordinatiſque demum machinis, per quas poſſent muros aſcendere, impleveruntque foſſata lapidibus et humo. Quod videntes obſeſſi, petierunt vitam et membra, ut darent ſe et iteratis vicibus, ſed not audivit eos rex, nec audire voluit, niſi ſuæ gratiæ et ſuorum judicio ſe mere ſupponerent. Diſtuleruntque ad tempus, mortem metuentes. Tandem vero attoniti, nec valentes ulterius ſuſtinere, dederunt ſe gratiæ regis, et caſtrum reddiderunt die ſanctæ Margaretæ virginis [Jul. 13] anni ſubſequentis, juſſitque eos ſalvo cuſtodiri uſque ad parliamentum ſuum Londoniis. Et erant numero plus quam centum et quadraginta et traditi ſunt carceribus per diverſa loca. Reverſus eſt rex cum victoria, tendens ad auſtrum per dietas pervalde modicas, et tenuit Lincolniæ Natale Domini cum ſummo honore. Juſſitque in redeundo, quod Juſticiarii ſui de Banco, et Scaccarium ſuum cum Banco integro, qui jam per ſeptem annos, a feſto ſanctæ Trinitatis anno Domini m.cclxxxxvii° uſque in præſens Natale Domini, apud Eboracum cum Cancellaria ſua, communiter ſederant, ad Weſtmonaſterium Londoniis reverterentur et redirent, et factum eſt ita.

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V.

EXTRACTS FROM THE METRICAL CHRONICLE OF PETER DE LANGTOFT.[q]

En geſtes aunciens trovoums nous eſcrit
Quels rays, et quels realmes, ly rays Arthur conquiſt,
Et coment ſun purchace largement partyſt;
Roys ſuz ly navoit ke ly countre diſt,[r]
En guere, ne bataille, ke cheſcun ne fuyſt.
  Ly rays ſir Eduuard ad done trop petyt,
Per qui a ſun aler, quant en mer ſe myſt,
Vers ly roys de Fraunce fet ly fu deſpit,
Ke nes un de ſes countes of ly le aler empriſt.[s]
La commune de Eſcotz la novele oyſt,
Cheſcun en[t] ſue part ſur coe ſe joyſt;
La route de raſkaylle la guere renove repriſt,

[q] The text is transcribed from the Cottonian MS. Julius A. v., a manuscript in folio, written upon vellum in the fourteenth century.

This transcript has been collated with three MSS., namely,

MS. Reg. 20 A. ii. fol. vel. xiv. Cent., the various readings of which are marked *R.*

— — 20 A. xi. fol. vel. xiv. Cent., the various readings of which are marked *R.* 2.

MS. Harl. 114, fol. vel. xiv. Cent., of which the various readings are marked *H.*

It is obvious, however, that these variations do not affect the sense, but are only verbal, even sometimes literal variations; they have, therefore, been preserved only so long as to furnish a specimen of their nature and value.

[r] Counte, duke, baron, qe unkes ly faillit, *H. R.* [s] Oue li laler emprist, *H.* [t] La, *H.*

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Ly counte et ly baroun feyntement ſuffriſt
Ke WILLIAME WALAYS chevetayn ſe fiſt,
Per falſe covertoure, ke homme nentendiſt
Ke halt home Deſcoz relever [ne[u]] vouſiſt.
Ly WALAYS meintenaunt les chaſtels aſſailliſt
Permy la tere Deſcoz, et ſouz[v] Englays les priſt.
Hwe[w] de Creſſyngham un pou[x] avaunt meſſiſt,
Kant le argent ſir Eduuard en taunt eſparniſt,
Ke molt de la petaylle del hoſt ſen partiſt:
Ly quens Jon de Guarayne,[y] ſi toſt com entendiſt
La pees eſtoyt rompue, ke ly Eſcot promiſt,[z]
Vers Eſtriuielyn ſen va, of[a] loſt ke remiſt;
Ou WILLIAME LE WALAYS[b] le counte deſcomfiſt,
Per ſa folye demene, kaunt alait al lyſt;[c]
Kar, taunt com ly quens al matyn dormiſt,
WILLIAM LE WALAYS le chef du pount aſſiſt
De launces et gavelokes,[d] home pecea ne viſt
Coylette[e] plus eſpeſſe, le counte refuſiſt;[f]
Les Englays i morurent, Leſcot i paſſa quit.
A cele meſavenue eſtaient[g] tuez
Vavaſſours curtoys de gentil parentez;
Robert de Somerville et ſun fiz aynez,
Chivalers et ſergeauns i priſtrent congez,
Sorais et Norays,[h] ke cy ne ſount nomez;
Hwe[i] de Creſſingham, en ſele meſuſez,
Du deſtrer coraunt chaiſt deſuz pez,
Des ribaus[k] Deſcotz ſun cors fu demaglez,
Et en menues corayes le quir eſcorchez,
En deſpit ly roys, ki clerk il fu clamez.
Marmeduk de Thweng de Deu ſait[l] honurez

[u] *Add. R.* [v] Sur, *H. R.* [w] Hugh, *H. R.* [x] Poy, *H. R.*
[y] Garenne, *H. R.* [z] Premist, *H.* [a] Ove, *H.* [b] William Walays, *H.*
[c] Dememe quant aloyt au lit, *H.* [d] Gavelocs, *H.* [e] Coilliet, *H.*
[f] Refuist, *H. R.* [g] Estoyent, *H. R.* [h] Soreys et Noreys, *H.* [i] Hugh, *H. R.*
[k] Du ribaudaille, *H.*; Ouf ribaudaille, *R.* [l] Soit, *H.*

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Cum lyoun ſe contynt en totes les mellez,[m]
Taunt fiſt a la jorne ke ſoens ſunt les grez,[n]
Counte ne baroun a ly [ne[o]] fu comparez,
Combataunt of leſſpeye[p] la gard ad recoverez
Du chaſtel de Striuelyn, et la demorez.
Meintenaunt apres ad li Eſcot maundez
Dela la mer en Flaundres un ribaud deguyſez,
Eſpier ſir Eduuard en viles et cytez;
Cil revent et diſt, en ſin veritez,
Il viſt ou ſir Eduuard fu mort, et enterrez.
La Commune Deſcoz ſe leve a cele fez,
Et promette et vouwe a Deu en Trinitez,
Engleterre deſtrure, ſaunz auer pitez,
Confunder ſaint eglyſe et les ordinez.
En Northumberland les fols ount commencez
Arder et deſtrure, et meſuns et blez.
Au ray Eduuard en Flaundres ſungt gent enveez,
Ke par les Norays la plainte ount preſentez,
Coment il ount perdu lour teres et lur feez,
Et coment plus perdrount, et touz les melz banez,
Ke ſunt en Engleterre en viles et citez,
Si plus toſt par ly ne ſayent aidez.
Ly ray de tote pars eſtoyt anguſſez,
Iſa ka lendemayne fet maunder ſes privez
Counſayllent ſur la choſe, ſi com ws orrez.
Meintenaunt apres ly rays eſt avyſez
Ke graunter ly eſtoyt a clers et as barnez
Les peticiouns, ke furent veez
As countes et barouns, ke of ly ne ſunt alez.
As primas Dengleterre ke tenent les .ij. feez,
Et as tuz les autres eveſkes ſacrez,
As abbez, et priours et beneficiez,

[m] [n] These lines are transposed in *H. R.* [o] Add. *R.* [p] Ove lespie.

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As countes et barouns, ly rays auaunt nomez
Par lettre et par buche ad durement priez
De aide, et de ſuccour, et de amiſtez
Encountre les Eſcoz et lur iniquitez.
Leaument les promette ben ſeraount werdonez,
Et auerount lur demaunde a lur voluntez.
Ly ſire de Caunterbire du promes eſt leez,
Pur ly et ſa province reſpouns ad donez,
Salve laſtut la pape ad publyez,
Des bens de ſaint egliſe la deſme i ad grauntez,
Dunt ſainer le et defendre en ſes digntez.
Enſint ke par les clers le aver ſait levez,
Et per meſmes les clers as barouns liuerez,
Kaunt irrount en Eſcoz of lur alyez,
A ſalver ſeint egliſe parmy les regnez;
E les clers du north du quinte ſount chargez,
A la verrai value com furent taxez,
Kant al rais Edward donaint lez maytez.
Mayntenant apres, kant les Eſcoz ſavaient
Coment al rais Edward ſes clers aider volait,
Coment ſes barouns enter eus parlaient,
Si toſt quant le rai enſelee verraient
La Chartre des Franchiſes, ke iadis auaient,
Treſtux en Albanye volunters irraient
Encountre les Eſcos, ke plus de mal ne fraint;
Le venir des barons les Eſcoz dotaint,
Al chaſtel de Striuelyn, com gent de pees, alaint,
A Marmeduk de Tweng hoſtages preſentaint,
E en lur bapteme promiſtrent, e joraient,
Si hors vouſiſt venir, de pees li parlerayent,
E al rays Edward illokes ſe renderayent;
Marmeduke iſſiſt a cels ke ly pryayent,
Ke ſanz plus delayer ly priſtrent, e montayent
Le jouen coneſtabel, ouekes ly menayent

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Tut drait a Dumbretayn, e lenprifonayent;
Ne feuent lour amys fi mort ou vifs i fayent.
La trefon fu fete kar les Efcoz quidayent
Si mal lour fuft venue par eus, le melz auerayent.
Ore oyez de la chartre quel gent la portayent
A clers e al barons, ke la procurayent.
Tant com les clers du fu devaient compaffer
Ke par la difme graunte ne puffent mal aver,
Ne la pape offendre, revent li Treforer
Du rays fir Edward, ke fuft outre mer;
Cil vers la clergye comenca parler,
E al les barons enfi noncier,
" Amis ly ray ore fires, bee[q] de gentil quer,
De fa feygnurie tut Engleterre eyfer,
La Chartre des Franchifes ws voet confermer,
E de la forefte laffife amender,
Com jadis purvift le ray Henri fon per;"
La chartre fu mouftre e leu a Weftmoufter.
Li fere de Canterbir fur coe ne voelt targer,
Parmy fe province lad fet publier;
Maintenaunt apres ly quens Marfchal Roger
E ly quens de Herforthe Umfray, li gentil ber,
Vers Everwyke fen vont el moufter Saint Pier,
Les hauz homes de la terre les venent encountrer,
Ly quens Jon de Soray,[r] of tut fen poer,
Ly gardayn de Glouceftre, Rauf de Moinhermer,
Of Jone la countefife, fa lige mulier,
E treftouz ly autre ke portent baner,
De Dover a Dureme, il venent volunter;
Le jour de Saint Annais[s] illokes font maunder,
Levefke de Kardoil ke vient pronuncier
La fentence follempne al pulpit du monfter,
Entre les deus countes, of livre e lumer,

[q] bie, *H.* A vous, *R.* [r] Surray, *R.* [s] Agneis, *R.* 2.

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Sur tuz iceax ke facent la charter violer,
Ou ouſter, ou deſtrure nul poynt del enter.
Puys vont vers Eſcoce Northumberland garder,
Reſſaiſent les terres, ke Walays le leer
Avaunt avait ſaiſye, e lors feit fuyſt arer.
Entre ces aferes la graunt contrariaunce,
Entre le rays Edward e le ray de Fraunce,
Joſqes a jour certayne pris eſt delayaunce,[t]
E la guere ſopie, e mys en ſuffraunce,
Joſqes lapoſtoyle ad fet ordinaunce,
Entre les deus rays purveu lacordaunce;
Par deus mariages la pees eſt en beaunce.
Ly rays Edward avera cele, dont fu parlance,
E ſon fiz Edward, ke Deus la ſus lavaunce,
Aura ſa feille Felipe, ke nad forſetaunce,
Clers e lays,[u] des queus les roys ont affiance,
Sont alez a Rome of lettres de creaunce,
Monſtrer a la pape coment, par quel covenaunce,
Gaſcon eſtoit rendue of la purtenaunce.
Entendu ad la pape par lur demuſtrance
Quel mal e quel damage, e com ſovent grevance,
Englays e Francays ont eu par la diſtance,
Diſcuſſion ad fait de la grant diſcordaunce,
E mandez al reis partie de ſa voyllaunce
Acorde bone imette Deu par ſa puyſſaunce.

[Anno Domini m.cc.° nonageſimo octavo][v]

Tant com le Apoſtoile Boneface atent
Entre les deus rays purveer lacordement,
Ly reys ſir Edward ſon chemyn reprent
Tut dreit vers Engletere of ſigle e of vent.
Le counte de Menetef,[w] ke fu ſon parent,

[t] est des loyaunce, *R.* [u] e reis, *R.* 2. [v] Additional in *H. R.* [w] Mentest, *H.* Menetest, *R.*

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E il quens Daſcetil,[x] le Comyn enſement,
Fiz cil de Badenake,[y] e autres jeſqe a Trent,
Quex li rais Edward, ſanz or e ſanz argent,
Hors de ſa priſone leſſa quitement,
Aler en pilrinage, priaynt devotement.
Kant congeez eſtaient, eſcotez[z] coment,
Al ray Felippe de France alayent fauſement,
Ly priayent de ſoccour e de avauncement,
Dont recoverir Eſcoce of le apurtenement,
A tenir de ly pardurablement.
Le ray Philippe reſpont, "Soz,[a] alez ws ent,
La pape par ſa lettre me maunde, e defent
Coure[b] ſour la terre kau[c] rays Edward apent,
Tant com noſtre trewe demort ſur jugement."
La fauſſe compaygnye deſaide ſaſſent,[d]
Al port de la mer ſen vount viſſement,[e]
Paſſage i trovent preſt, promettent largement,
[Eſkipier[f]] ſen ſount, ne leſſent pur tourment,
Arivent en Eſcoce ſaunz deſtourbement.
Li rays ſir Edward par oy dire atent,
Coment les Eſcoce lount trahi ſovent,
Lors va viſiter Seint Thomas de Kent,
Seint Jon de Beverle molt devotement,
Seint Willam de Everwyk, Seint Cuthbert enſement;
Puys va vers le north a ſa[g] lige gent,
Aſſembler les fet, e tient parlement.
Cil parlent, e purvayent, e ſunt dun aſſent,
Aler en Albanye a prendre vengement,
[E priver les Eſcoz de terre e tenement.[h]]
Or oyez quel vengaunce ly Dex[i] omnipotent
Iſiſt, par ſa puſſance, ſour le faus covent,
Ke robba ſaint egliſe de ſoun veſtement,
E renovelaynt la guere encontre lur ferment,

[x] de Ascelel, *R.* de Asceels, *R.* 2. [y] Badenagh, *H.*, *R.*, *R.* 2. [z] escoutez, *R.* 2.
[a] sotz, *R.* folz, *R.* 2. [b] Curer, *R.* [c] qe au, *H.*, *R.*, *R.* 2. [d] se sent, *H.*
[e] vistement, *H.*, *R.*, *R.* 2. [f] E ki, piere, *C.* Eskyper, *R.* Eskipper, *R.* 2. [g] od sa, *R.* 2.
[h] Additional in *H.*, *R.*, *R.* 2. [i] Dieus, *H.*

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VI.

EXTRACT FROM THE METRICAL CHRONICLE OF ROBERT DE BRUNNE.[k]

Gestes þat er olde writen of manẏ man,
Þritti reames men tolde, þat kẏng Arthur wan,
He parted his wynnyng till his men largely,
Þat nouþer erle ne kynge will withſitte his crẏ;
Þei were at his wille, wer he never ſo hie,
Boþe of gode and ille at alle his nede redie.
Oure kyng ſir Edward, over litille he gaf,
Tille his barons was hard, overhipped þem overhaf;
He wild not be ſo hende, ſo large, no ſo fre,
Þerfor þei lete him wende alon overe þe ſe;
Þorgh þat wendyng alon nere he had bien ſchent,
It was to mak of mone þat non erle with him went.
Þorh tiþing brouht bitide þe Scottes wiſt of þis,
Ilk Scotte on his ſide mad þerof joy ⁊ blis;
Þe raſcail of þer route began to werre alle newe,
Now Edward is oute, þe barons be not trewe.
Þe ſuffred, as it ſais, þe Scottis eſt to riſe,
And William þe Wallais, þer hede ⁊ þer juſtiſe.

[k] The following extract is an English version from the French Metrical Chronicle, of which a portion has been presented to the reader. The text is that of Hearne's, which is in general good, although that editor has preserved a few palpable errors of the MSS.

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Þorgh fals concelement William did his wille,
Our caſtels has he brent, our men ſlayn fulle ille;
Sir Hugh of Criſſengham he did nycely ꝫ mys,
Þe treſore with him he nam, ſperd it in his coffris,
And wild gif no wages to þe folk þer ware,
Þerfor ȝomen and pages home gan alle fare.
Whan Sir Jon of Warenne þe ſoth vnderſtode
Þat þe Waleis gan brenne, an oſte he gadred gode,
And went to Striuelyn agayn Waleis William;
Bot þe erle with mykelle pyne diſconfite away nam,
And þat was his folie, ſo long in his bed gan ligge,
Untille þe Waleis partie had vmbilaid the brigge
With gauelokes and dartes, ſuilk ore was non ſene,
Myght no man þam departe, ne ride, ne go bituene;
Þore firſt þam tauht how þei did Fawe Kirke,
Alle gate þe brigge he rauht, of nouht our men were irke.
Whan þe erle herd ſay, þe brigge how William toke,
He douted to die þat day, þat bataille he forſoke;
Þe Inglis were alle ſlayn, þe Scottis bare þam wele,
Þe Waleis had þe wayn, als maiſtere of þat eſchele.
At that ilk ſtoure was ſlayn on our ſide
God men of honour, þat wald to þe bataile bide;
Sir Robert of Somervile, and his eldeſt ſonne,
He held þe ſtoure a while, for dede ne wild he ſchonne;
And knyghtes ꝫ ſergeantz, noble men fulle couth,
Of prowes fulle valiantz, boþe bi North ꝫ South.
Sir Hugh of Creſſyngham in armes nouht ne deigh,
For ridyng lauht he ſkam, out of his ſadelle he fleih;
His ſtede ouer him ran, he lay vnder his fete,
Þat ſauh þe Scottis man, ꝫ þer of wele he lete;
He ꝫ other inowe, þat Sir Hugh wele knewe,
I wene þei quik him flouh, ꝫ his lymmes to hewe.
Sir Marmeduk of Thuenge in þe felde bare þe flour,
With þe Scottis gan he menge, ꝫ ſtifly ſtode in ſtoure,

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Fightand he couerd alle weys þe caſtelle of Striuelyn,
Maugre þe Waleys, Sir Marmeduk went in.
  After þis bataile, þe Scottis ſent ouer þe ſe
A boye of þer raſcaile, quaynt and deguiſe;
To Flandres bad him fare, þorgh burgh ꝫ cite,
Of Edward whore he ware bring þam certaynte.
And whan he com ageyn, he teld þam þis tiþing,
Þat ſothly and certayn dede was Edward þe kyng,
And to þat ſtede he ferd, þer he was laid in graue;
Þe Scottis whan þei it herd, more joye ne bad thei haue.
To werre þan ros þei eft, tille God þei mad a vowe,
Þat no þing ſuld be left, þat myght to Inglond prowe,
Mercy ſuld non haue, tille alle þei ſuld do wo,
Kirke ſuld no man ſaue, bot brenne þer in ꝫ ſlo;
In Northumberland þer firſt þei bigan,
And alle þat com tille hand, þei ſlough ꝫ ouer ran.
To Flandres tille Edward tiþinges men him ſent,
Þat Scottis com in hard, þe North is nere alle brent,
And more ſalle ȝit be lorn, bot if we haf ſocoure.
Nouht ſtands þam biforn, toun, caſtelle, ne toure.
Þe kỳng for þo tiþinges was noẏed greuoſlie;
To conſeil þe lordỳnges he cald þat wer him bi.
Whan þei had alle caſt þer conſeil vp ꝫ doun,
Þe kỳng was at þe laſt aviſed on þis reſon,
Þat nede behoued him grante to clerke ꝫ baroun,
And hold þam þe couante of ilk peticioun.
Bi letter he þam ſent ꝫ granted þer aſkỳng,
Alle þat reſon ment of ilk manner þing;
Bi letter ꝫ bi mouth he praied þam of ſocoure,
And þat he mỳght ꝫ couth, þat wer to þer honoure;
He granted at þer wille, if þei wild ſocoure him,
Ageỳn þe Scottis ille, þat bere þam now to brim.
  The biſſhop of Canterbire þerof paẏed was he,
For him and alle his ſchire þis gift gaf fulle fre,

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To ſaue þe Pape ſtatute, þat þem bihoued defende,
Of holy kirkes frute he gaf þe kỳng þe tende,
Gadred with clerkis hand, ꝛ kept to þat viage,
Wendand to Scotland, biteched it þe baronage,
Þe lond forto ſaue, ꝛ holy kirkes dignite;
Þis grantid he þam to haue Roberd of Wỳnchelſe.
Þe clergie of þe North þe fifte penỳ ſuld gỳue
Whan þe barons ferd forth, in pes þat þei mot lỳue,
And grantid þam ſelf at þe firſt gynnỳng,
Whan þe kỳng aſked half of alle þer moble þing.
Now er at on aſſent þe barons ꝛ þe clerkis,
Þe Scottis hold þam ſchent, of þer conſeil now herkis.
Þe Scottis vnderſtode, þat holy þe clergie
Were alle in wille gode to help þe kỳnges partie,
And þe barons alſo in luf with him wild dele,
For he had grantid þer to þe Chartre for to ſele,
And after þat ſelỳng alle ſuld þei come
Þe barons ꝛ þe kyng, ꝛ tak of þam hard dome,
What did þe Scottis þo? bot þis conſeil þei ches,
To Striuelyn ſuld þei go, in manere of pes,
Sir Marmeduk biſeke his wrath forto aſuage,
And to þam mak him meke, for luf ꝛ for oſtage.
Þei ſuore þer Chriſtendam, if þat he wild com oute
Withouten any gram tille [him] þei wild loute,
Boþe loude ꝛ ſtille, in neſch ꝛ in hard,
And to pes with gode wille ȝeld þam tille Edward.
Sir Marmeduk out cam, he troſted on þer faỳth;
To him ꝛ his þei nam, ꝛ ſmertlỳ did þam graỳth
Toward[n] Dun Bretaỳn, ꝛ him in priſon þer ſperd,
His frendes were vnfaỳn, for non wiſt how he ferd.
Þei did þat treſon, if þam felle anỳ chance,
For him þei mot eftſon of þers make deliuerance.

[n] Dunbretayn, *vel* Dunbrettayn.—*MSS. Gall.*

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Þe clergie of þe South mad a diſputeſoun,
And openly with mouth aſſigned gode reſoun,
Þat ſcaþe ne mot bifalle, ne forto wrath þe pape,
Bot for him ꝫ vs alle mẏght it better ſchape.
In alle þis ſpekẏng com þe Treſorere
Fro Edward our kyng, to ſchewe þe chartere here.
He[o] ſpac vnto þe clergie, "Ȝe barons þat here be,
Þe kẏng fulle curteiſlie gretis ȝow wele bi me,
And ſais, þat he wille Inglond alle eſe,
And þat ȝe aſk in ſkille ȝour hertes forto peſe,
Þe Chartre of Franchiſe conferm it ȝow he ſalle,
And of þe firſt aſſiſe, as his fader gaf it alle."
Þe Chartre was red on hi in Weſtmẏnſtere, ꝫ ſchewed,
Ilk poẏnt bi ꝫ bi, to lerid ꝫ to lewed.
Þe biſſhop of Canterbire in comon alle o liche
Schewed it in ilk ſchire alle his biſchop riche.
Whan þei þe Chartre in alle had ſchewed daẏ bi daẏ,
Sir Roger þe erle Marſchalle, of Herford þe erle Umfraẏ,
At Ȝork þei tok on hand, þer parlement to ſette;
Þe hie folk of ȝe land þer alle togidere mette.
Þe erle Ion of Surraẏ com with grete powere,
Of Glouceſtre ſtoute ꝫ gay Sir Rauf þe Mohermere,
And[p] his wif dame Ione, whilom Gilberdes of Clare,
Þo banerettis ilkone fro Douer to Durham ware.
At þe kirke of Saẏnt Peter þe daẏ of Saẏnt Agnes,
Þe biſſhop on his mitere of Carlele it ſaẏs.
He ſtode vp in pulpite, þe office for to do,
Þer Chartre he red it bituex þe erles tuo,

[o] Cil vers la clergye commenca parler, Et a les barouns issi [*vel* ency] nouncier, A nous li Reis vos sires bee de gentyt qoer De sa seygnorye, but Engleterre eyser, La chartre des fraunchises vous volt confermer, De la foreste le assise [*vel* lassise] amender, Cum jadis purnist le Rey Henry son peer. La chartre fu monstre et leu a Wemonster, *&c.* *MSS. Gall.*

[p] One Jone sa Countesse la lige mulier, Et trestouz ly altre qe portant baner, De Douer a Dureme i venent volonter, *&c.* *MSS. Gall.*

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And curſed alle þo, þat þe Chartre brak,
Or ſtroied, or did ouht fro onẏ poynt þer in ſpak.
After þis ſentence gẏuen, tille armes alle þat mẏght,
Was it no lenger drẏuen, to Scotland alle þam dight.
In alle Northumberland, þer þe Waleis had bene,
Alle was in þe kẏnge's hand, þe Scottis wer non ſene.
In alle þis neſch ꝫ hard, euer laſted þe diſtance
Bituex kẏng Edward ꝫ þe kẏng of France,
Bot it was delaied tille a daẏ certeẏn
Of right dome ſet ꝫ ſaid, how pes mot be pleẏn.
Þei conſented boþe, þorgh conſeil of þe pape,
To peſe þam tuo wroþe, with ſight he wild ſchape.
Þorgh mariages was hopẏng of þe pes,
Þat were certeẏn ſtages, þat boþe parties ches.
Þe kẏng on ſuld haue, a maẏ was in ſpekẏng,
Tille his ſonne ſuld men ſaue Philip douhter ȝing.
In alle þis ordenance our kẏng ſent meſſengers
Þat k[n]ewe þe greaunce, wẏſe men, barons, pers,
Unto þe courte of Rome, þe pape to ſchew þat cas,
How wondere chances come, ꝫ who did moſt treſpas.
Of Inglis ꝫ Frankis who was moſt culpable,
In þe pape leues alle þis, to mak mende ꝫ mak alle ſtable.
To while pape Boniface duellid opon þis,
To gẏue dome þorgh grace, to mende bothe þer mẏs,
Þe kẏng tok his conſaile, ꝫ home to Ingland went.
Gode wẏnde in his ſaile Jheſu Criſte him lent.
Þe erles of Scotland þat atteẏnt wer of treſon,
Þe kẏng himſelf willand, deliuerd þam fro priſon.
Þiſe wer of þer geſt, as I kan names fẏnde,
The erle of Meneteſt was of Edward kẏnde,
Þe erle of Aſcetelle, Sir John þe Comẏn,
Badenauh ſonne I telle, ꝫ þretty of þer couẏn,
Alle þiſe ꝫ wele mo atteẏnt of traẏtorie,
Þe kẏng lete þam go of his curteiſie,

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Withouten ſiluere or golde, or anẏ oþer treuage,
Þer penance was, þei ſuld go in pilgrimage.
Here of þis wikked hals, þat our kẏng gaf leue,
To France þei ȝede þo fals, to Philip wild þei cheue,
Biſouht him of ſocoure ꝫ auancement,
To maẏnten þam in ſtoure, þei mad hir[r] þer preſent,
Scotlond of him to hold euer withouten ende,
If he in luf wold as lord vnto þam lende.
Philip gaf reſpons, ꝫ bad þam go þer waẏ
"Ȝe ere foles Bretons, diſceit is þat ȝe ſay.
Þe pape me defendes with bulle þat bindis hard,
To renne on þo landes þat longes tille Edward.
To whils þat oure trewe duellis on jugement,
For me ſalle neuer be newe no fals compaſſement."
Confuſed þei went awaẏ þat fals companie,
Þei failed of þer praẏ, to hauen gan þei hie,
And hired þam a ſchip, gaf ſiluere largelie,
To Scotlond gan þei ſkip, þe wẏnde was þam redie.
Edward vnderſtode, þorgh oft herẏng ſaẏ,
How þe fals blode compaſſed tene ꝫ traẏ.
He mad his pilgrimage to Saẏnt Thomas of Kent,
Siþen north on his viage to Beuerleẏ he went,
Bifor Saẏnt Jon he woke a nẏght or he þien nam,
To Ȝorke þe gate he toke, ꝫ ſouht Saẏnt William.
Saẏnt Cutbert he ſouht, to help him at his nede,
Siþen he dred him nouht, northward als he ȝede.
Northward in his weie he held his parlement,
To ſpeke ꝫ to purueie to be of on aſſent,
To Scotlond forto go, to take vengement
Of þam his folk did ſlo, deſtroied his tenement,
And how þei were alle lorn, þat com to þat couent.
For þei were forſuorn, vengeance on þam went.

[r] There is a little stroke over the i in the MS., which shews that *him* is to be read.

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Þe date was a þouſand, þre hundred alle bot one,
At Foukirke in Scotlond, Scottis eſcapid none.
  On þe Maudeleyn day, a litelle bifor Lammeſſe,
Of Scotlond ⁊ Galway com mykelle folk alle freſſe,
Of þe Marche ⁊ þe Ildes, a ſpere þei ſuld bring,
Þei com þe lond to ſchilde, to Faukyrke in þe mornyng.
Our Inglis men ⁊ þei togidere mette,
Þer formaſt conrey, þer bakkis togidere ſette,
Þer ſperes poynt ouer poynt, ſo ſare ⁊ ſo þikke
And faſt togidere joynt, to ſe it was ferlike.
Als a caſtelle þei ſtode, þat were walled with ſtone,
Þei wende no man of blode þorgh þam ſuld haf gone.
Þer folk was ſo mykelle, ſo ſtalworth ⁊ ſo clene,
Þer foyntes forward prikelle, nonhut wild þei wene.
Þat if alle Inglond fro Berwik vnto Kent,
Þe folk þerin men fond had bein þider ſent,
Stength ſuld non half had, to perte þam þorgh oute,
So wer þei ſet ſad with poyntes rounde aboute.
Þe kyng ſauh þam comand ſo ſadly in þe mede,
His folk he did with ſtand, ⁊ dight þam alle to dede,
Siþen he to þam ſaid, "Go we þer God vs ſpede."
Þer lances alle forth laid, ⁊ ilk man broched his ſtede,
Þei ſauh kynge's banere, raumpand þre lebardes,
Þer hors folk alle plenere, þei fled as fals cowardes.
Þo fotefolk left alon, if þei wild ſtand or fle,
Help had þei non, of þam þer hed ſuld be.
Þus þe Waleis wrouht, ⁊ ſaid þan þis be ſkille
"To þe renge ere ȝe brouht, hop now if ȝe wille."
Þer ſcheltron ſone was ſhad with Inglis þat were gode,
Pite of non þei had, bot alle to dede ȝode,
Als fleihes doun þei fleih, ten þouſand at ones,
To ſtand non ne degh, bot felle doun als ſtones.
Bituex prime ⁊ none alle voide was þe place;
Þe bataile ſlayn ⁊ done alle within þat ſpace.

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Was no man Inglis maynhed no dede þat day,
Bot a templer of pris, Sir Brian þe Geay,
Maiſter templere he was on þis half þe ſe,
He folowed þe Scottis pas, whan þei bigan to fle,
Fer in tille a wod, men calle it Kalenters,
Þer in a mire a mod, withouten helpe of fers,
Slouh þei Sir Brian alon wiþouten mo.
Allas! þat douhty man, þat he ſo fer ſuld go!
Þe Walſch folk þat tide did nouþer ille no gode,
Þei held þam alle bi ſide, opon a hille þei ſtode,
Þer þei ſtode þat while, tille the bataile was don;
Was neuer withouten gile Walſh man no Breton.
For þei were euer in wehere, men ſo of þam told,
Whilk was beſt banere, with þat ſide forto hold.
Saynt Bede ſais it for lore, 't I ſay it in ryme,
Walſh man ſalle neuer more luf Inglis man no tyme.
After þis bataile þe kyng turned ageyn,
Ouer þat fals pedaile he ordeynd a wardeyn
Þat held þam in ſuilk awe, þei durſt no more riſe,
Þorgh ſmerthed of þe law he did þam juſtiſe.
He ȝared his wendyng, to London gan him rape,
Þider him com tiþing, lettres fro þe pape,
And bad þat he ſuld take þe kyng ſiſter of France,
For Gaſcoyn pes to make þorgh þat alliance,
Not dame Blanche þe ſuete, þat I firſt of ſpake,
Bot dame Margarete, gode withouten lak.
Þe pape's maundement he reſceyued curtaſly,
Bi time þat it were ent he dight þerto redy,
In purueiance of alle as he had moſt to don
So com þe erle Marſchalle baitand to London;
Of Herford þe erle Umfray alſo com he þidere,
And oþer barons of nobley, 't alle ſamned togidere.
Þe erle for þam alle with luf biſouht þe kyng,
Of poyntis behoued falle, do þam at þer praying.

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" Withoute any delay do make þe purale
Be a certeyn day, Sir, þat pray we þe."
Þe kyng wild his myght delaied it were alle weys,
Notheles ſemand bi ſight his anſuere was curteys.
He ſchewed þe erle Rogere þe papes mandement
He myght on no manere do nouht or it were ent,
Bot he ſuore on his fayth ⁊ certeynly þan hete,
Whan it were don in grayth, þe weddyng of Margarete,
To mak þe purale, it ſuld not be delaied,
With ſuilk men ſuld it be, þat þei ſuld hald þam paied.
So faire with his reſpons, ſo faithfulle þei biſemed,
Boþe erles ⁊ barons, his wordes alle þei quemed,
Þe erle Umfray þat was, for euer tok his leue,
Þe dede him ſleuh, allas! tille his pers it gan greue.
The pape þan ſent his bulle vnt Philip of France,
Þe curte of Rome fulle has ordand aliance,
Þat þe kyng Edward ſuld wed Margarete,
And in þat ilk forward, þer werryng ſuld þei lete
For euer in Gaſcoyn of alle maner of ſkille;
Without any eſſoyn, Philip grantid þer tille.
Philip for þat may mad purueiance redy
With folk of gode aray to Douer com in hy,
And þer oure Inglis men reſceyued fulle miry,
Þe barons alle with blis brouht hir to Canterbiri,
And as þe courte of Rome had ordeynd þat ſpouſale,
Right opon þat dome he wedded hir ſanz faile.
Robert of Wynchelſe, þat corſeynt is verray,
Did þat ſolempnite opon a Wedneſday
Next þe lattere feſt þat is of oure Lady.
Þe Wedneſday formeſt þe kyng had fulle grete hy,
For on þe morn he went his way toward Scotland,
With ille auiſement he did, ⁊ þat he fand.
Whan he was in þe Marche he ſamned his oſte,
Þan was it bot a parche, ⁊ litelle with þe loſte.

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For him ſelf alone toke þat viage,
Help aſked he none of alle his baronage,
Þat was for þe purale, þat he had þam hette,
He wild not do þer gre, þat terme þat he ſette.
Þe Scottis wiſt þat wele, ꝫ ſchewed him þe vis,
Þer ſide was ilk a dele in poynt to wynne þe pris.
Boldely þei bed bataile with viſage fulle auſtere,
Þe kynge's ſide gan faile, for he had no powere.
Ferrere mot he nouht, Scotlond forto ſe,
Þat tyme no þyng he wrouht, bot ſpendid his mone.
Þe Marche vnder wardeyn he left als it was ore,
Unto þe ſouth ogeyn he went, ꝫ did no more.
Whi þat he not ſped, þis ſkille mot it be,
With hauelon þam led, to mak þe purale.
The kyng after þe Paſk his meſſengere ſent,
For þe biſſhopes aſkis to com to þe parlament,
For erles ꝫ barons, at London ſuld it be,
Four knyghtes be ſomons choſen in ilk counte.
Firſt þe nemnid alle þe, þe purale ſuld make,
Þat þorgh þe reame ſuld go, þe boundes forto ſtake.
Whan it were brouht tille ende, ꝫ ſtabled ꝫ ſette,
To gyue þe penie tuentende þe kyng þer þei hette,
Þis was þe toþer reſon, men þan ſuld þei ȝare
For þe lond of Gaſcon, to Rome forto fare,
To wite at þe pape why he mad delay,
Þe tyme he wild not rape, no ſet a certeyn day,
Þat Edward ſuld haue þe lond of Gaſcoun,
His ſeignorie to ſaue, als it was reſoun.
Now was þis þe þridde of þat parlement,
For chance þat him bitidde, þe kyng þus þam biſent.
" I praie ȝow in þis nede, to help me with ȝour oſte
Þe Scottis on me bede, I wild abate þer boſte."
To maynten his partie þei hete to help him wele,
He aiorned þam to relie in þe north at Carlele,

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After midefomer's tide þorgh comon ordinance,
No lenger fuld þei bide, bot forth ꝫ ſtand to chance.
Norreis ꝫ Surreis, þat feruiſe auht þe kýng,
With hors ꝫ herneis at Carlele mad ſamnýng.
Þe erle Marſchalle Rogere no hele þat týme mot haue,
He went[s] with his banere ſir Ion þe Segraue,
To do alle þo feruiſe þat longed þe office tille,
And maýntend alle þe priſe, þer he ſauh lawe ꝫ ſkille.
Þe quene Margarete with childe þan was ſche,
Þe kýng bad hir not lete, bot com to þe north cuntre.
Unto Brotherton, on wherfe þer ſcho was,
And lighter of a ſonne, þe child hight Thomas.
Whan þe kyng herd ſaý, ſho had ſo wele farn,
Þider[t] he went way, to ſe hir ꝫ hir barn,
And with hir he ſoiorned, tille ſho was purified,
Þan eft ogaýn he turned, ꝫ tille his oſt hied.
Þe quene with hir ſonne at Cawod leues ſhe,
Tille týme com eftſon on Ouſe fulle eſe.
At Karlele is þe kýng with erles ꝫ barons,
Þer þei mad ſpekyng to renne on þer felons.
Bot ſom of þam þat ware conſeild oþer manere,
Þorgh paſtours forto fare, for beſtes to lardere.
Men ſaid þer were mowe in mores ꝫ in medis,
" And, if ȝe wille, we mowe of beſtis do gode nedis."
Þe cuntre herd it ſeie, þe folk of ilk a ſchire
Had þer beſtis aweie þorgh mede ꝫ þorgh mire,
Þat no ſtrange man knewe, ne mýght ſo go,
Þer to þe raýne bigan, ꝫ flowand bank ꝫ bro.
It ran doun on þe mountaýns, ꝫ drenkled þe playne,
Sir Edward ſauh þo[u] paynes, ꝫ tok þe gate agayn,
Þe more h[x] forſoke, þe fote men ilk a flok,
A pouere hamlete toke, þe caſtelle Karelauerok.

[s] Perhaps we should read "sent."

[t] Ly Reis vers Escoce son chemyn reprent, La Reyne oue son fiz a Cawode atent Sure Owse la ryuer assez esement.—*MSS. Gall.*

[u] *Sic.*

[x] *L.* he.

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In alle þis gret pres praied þe kỏng of France
Þe Scottis ſuld haf þes þorgh Edward ſufferance.
Vnto þe meſſengere, þat Philip to him ſent,
He gaf þe treus a ȝere, ꝫ þan to London went.
Feyntiſe, liþt duellỏng, on mornes long to lie,
Surfeỏte in euenỏng, ꝫ luf of liccherie,
Affiance of feloun, of enmys haf pite,
Wille without reſoun, conſeile of wiſe men fle,
Wynnỏng forta hold, ꝫ gỏue not largely,
Þe Bretons men of told, forſoke ſuilk party.
Of Arthure men ſay, þat rede of him in pas,
Alle tymes in medle euer more firſt he was,
Mornỏng ꝫ euenỏng, ſobre ꝫ honeſt;
Felons þat wild him greue, or enmỏs þat mad cheſt,
Als he was worþi had he jugement
Had he of non merci, for praiere no preſent.
At conſeil ꝫ at nede he was a ſkilfulle kỏng,
So curteis of non men rede, ne prince of more prayſing
Was non in Criſtendam, als he was in his tyme,
Ne ſuilk on ȝit non cam þat man mạỏ mak of rỏme.
I told ȝow þis reſoun, ꝫ for enſample ſette,
If þe kyng wild haf don þe purạle als he hette,
Þorghput Ingland, enſelid ꝫ with ſcrite,
Bi tỏme had mad þat bond, ꝫ drawen it not o lite,
It had bien his heires prowe, þe lond had bien alle his,
Long tỏme or now, þat now in auenture is.
Þe date a þouſand was, ꝫ þre hundred euen,
At Lincoln þe parlement was in Lyndeſay ꝫ Keſtuen.
At þe Paſk afterward his parlement ſet he,
Þe gode kyng Edward, at Lyncoln his cite,
At Sant Katerine hous þe erle Marſchalle lay,
In þe brode gate lay þe Brus, erle was he þat day.
Þe kỏng lay at Netilham, it is þe biſſhope's toun.
And oþer lordes þer cam in þe cuntre vp ꝫ doun.

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Erles ꝫ barons at þer firſt ſamnyng,
For many maner reſons pleyned of þe kỏng,
Þat þe purale did not als he ſuld,
Ne þer chartre gaf fre, þe poyntes vſe ne wuld,
Ne ſuffre þam to hold, þat þe chartre of ſpake,
Þorgh mayntenours bold, þe poỏntes alle þei brake.
Ȝit þei ſaid him tille, his miniſtres waſted þe lond,
Tak þing out of ſkille, ꝫ pay not with hond.
And ȝit þei mad pleỏnt of his Treſorere,
Þat fele þinges atteỏnt he maỏntend þorgh powere,
Fordos vſages olde, ꝫ lawes of þe chekere,
" Of many has it bien holde, to þe we pleyn vs here,
Him forto remue þorgh comon aſſent,
Aſſigne it for more prow at þis parlement,
Þat can þat office guỏe, ꝫ do þe ryght vſage,
Þat no man thar eſt crie, for wrong ꝫ outrage."
Þe kynges anſuere was ſmert ꝫ ſaid, " I ſee þe wille
Þorgh pride of hert, reuile me with vnſkille,
And ſo lowe me to chace, mỏn officers to change,
And mak þam at ȝour grace, þat were me ouer ſtrange.
It is non of ȝow, þat he ne wille at his mỏght,
Haf ſergeanz for his prow, withouten oþer ſight.
Salle no man put þorgh ſkille his lord lowere þan he,
Ne I ne ſalle, no wille, to while I kyng ſalle be.
If any of mỏn mad ſtrife, or tak þing not right,
Stiward or balife, ſchewe þer wrong þorgh ſight:
Þat wrong I wille ſo mende, if þat it be atteỏnt,
Þat non thar com no ſende to courte to mak eſt pleynt.
Þe[y] chartre þorgh reſoun ꝫ þe purale
Þei fordo my croune, if þei granted be

[y] La chartre des fraunchises et du puraler, Deffrount ma coroune, si ieo les day granter, La quele ouesk moy vous deuez en moy susport, Qele ne soit blamye par prise ne par prier. Par qai ieo vous graunte le drait examiner Par .xxvi. descrez, qe voysent iorer, &c. *MSS. Gall.*

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Þe whilke ȝe ſalle ꝫ ouh to maynten with me,
To mak it leſſe no louh, ne peired ſalle it be.
Of þis I grant to morn, þat ȝe trie þis þing,
With ſex ꝫ tuenti ſuorn, if I to ȝour aſkyng
May accorde right wele, þe coroune forto ſaue
Diſmembred not a dele, ȝour aſkýng ſalle ȝe haue.
A noþer I am withoute of penie in treſorie,
In lond withouten doute ſalle help me a partie."
The wiſeſt of þe clergie, with erles ꝫ barons,
Togider went to trie of þer peticions.
Þo ſex ꝫ tuenti ȝede þat were ſuorn þer tille
Of ilk doute ꝫ drede þei ſaid ꝫ ſet þe ſkille;
Diſcharged wille þei be of þe grete oth þei ſuore,
Perille forto ſle, þe poyntes were ſo ſtore.
Þe ſent ageýn ꝫ ſaid to kýng, "It was no haunte
Of certeýn ſette ꝫ laid, to trechet þer couaunte;
No tille prince no kýng it is no maner told,
To mak eſt lokýng, ne deme þat dere was ſold.
Sir, fairere þe wore, graunte vs þy curteýſie,
Þan parties pinched more, þe auantage ſet ſo hie,
Þat þou maý gýue with right, whan þou wille ꝫ how,
Þat ſalle not be þorgh ſight demed of leſſe þan þou.
Put þe not ſo louh, to deme þi power fre,
Ȝeld us þat þou ouh, ꝫ we ſalle luf þe,
And ſerue þe we wille alle at þin avis,
And help þe at ſkille, to renne on þin enmýs."
He ſent þam bode ageýn, ſchortely to ſaý ꝫ here,
Þer prayere was in veýn, to eſe þam in no manere;
His wille ꝫ his auiſe, þat þe aſked certeýn.
Þei ȝede be partiſe, diſputed þer ageýn.
Þe parties were ſo felle altercand on ilk ſide,
Þat non þe ſoth couth telle, whedir pes or werre ſuld tide.

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Bot God þat is of mẏght, ꝫ may help whan he wille,
For boþe þe parties dight, ꝫ put þam in þis ſkille,
Þat or Michelmeſſe þei ſuld reiſe to þe kẏng
Þe fiftend penie no leſſe, for þer Chartre ſelẏng,
And for þe purale, ſet with certeẏn bounde,
Þorgh þe lond ſuld be delaied no lengere ſtounde.
Oñ þat þei grantid, ꝫ abatid alle þer þro,
Whan þe kẏng wild þam calle, to Scotlond ſuld þei go.
Ȝit our meſſengrs[a] for Gaſcoẏn were at Rome,
Foure lordes fulle fers, to here þe papes dome,
Þer foure at Rome ware, to areſon þe pape,
Þe right forto declare, ꝫ for þe parties ſo ſchape,
To whom þe right ſuld be of Gaſcoẏn euer ꝫ ay,
And þorgh his decre þe pes pronunce a daẏ.
Þe pape Boniface tok Philip meſſengers,
And ours in o place, ſette þam to mete als pers,
And preched to þam alle, als þei ſat in fere,
" Lordyng, þus ſalle ſalle, as I ſalle ſay here.
Men ſay in ȝour tuo londes ere men of grete reſoun,
And wele vnderſtondes, ꝫ knowes þer enchefoun.
Þo ilk men ſo wiſe ſuld go, ꝫ enforme ȝour kẏnges,
Withouten mo juſtiſe or trauaile of oþer lordẏnges.
Þerfore gos ageẏn, ꝫ tille ȝour kẏnges ſaẏ,
Bot þei with luf certeẏn accorde in euen waẏ,
And if þei ne do, be ſaẏnt Petir of Rome,
Oure courte ſalle ordeẏn ſo on þam ſo hard dome,
At þe next feſte þat comes of S. Andrew,
Þat þei ꝫ alle þer geſte þat dome ſalle doute ꝫ rew."
Þe meſſengers þei ȝede, bare þei with þam no more;
I turne ageyn to rede of þe parlement we ſpak ore.

[a] *Sic.*

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The kỳng gaf his ſonne at þe parlement
Wales in to wonne, ⁊ Cheſtreſhire to rent.
Muſtrelle[a] ⁊ Pountif, þat er bizond þe ſe,
Prince he was vp rif, ⁊ erle alſo was he.
Of him þat held þer londes þei mad him alle homage,
To Scotlond now he fondes, to redy his viage,
With þretti þouſand Walſh redỳ at his banere;
Erles ⁊ barons als, boþe knỳght ⁊ ſquiere,
Alle com to Carlele, to conſeil how were beſt,
To paſſe þe Scottis ſe wele, to tak to ward þe weſt.
His fader alſo zede, ⁊ chefe[b] þe eſt ſide,
At Berwik opon Tuede, his oſt did þer bide.
Als þei were alle plenere to counſeil ⁊ to ſchape,
So com a meſſengere fro Boniface þe pape,
Þe biſſhop of Spolete, with a newe ordinance;
A noþer him gan mete, comand fro þe kỳng of France.
I herd neuer telle, for what maner diſcert,
Þer on I moſt nede duelle, tille it com out aperte.
Þe[c] kyng has þe letter in hand to trowe þat þei ſaid,
Þe werying in Scotland now is delaied ⁊ laid.
Ho com to Linliſcow, ⁊ did þer crie his pes,
And teld his barons how þat nede behoued him ſes.
Siþen he ⁊ his ſonne turned toward þe ſouth,
Þe Marche als it was wonne keped wardeỳns couth.
Þe turned to London of þe treus to ſpeke,
And feỳþleỳ þerto bondon, on no manere to breke.
Unto þe terme for told of ſaỳnt Andrewmeſſe,
Þe pape did him hold, with gode ſikerneſſe.

[a] Et Pountif et Monstroylle, oue lonour qe apent, Le fiz est Prince et Count, e les homages prent, &c. *MSS. Gall.*

[b] For "chefe" we should probably read "chese," *i. e.* selected.

[c] Resceu ad ly reis la lettre de creaunce, Et ly messagers entendu la sustaunce. Sa gwere sur Escoce ad mys en suffraunce, A Lynliscou reuent son fiz saunz tariaunce, &c. *MSS. Gall. nisi quod* saunz *desit in Cod. Anstisiano.*

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Þe pape ſet þat terme, for his hopýng was
Þe pes þei ſuld afferme, for drede of hardere kas.
Kýng[ce] Philip of France had erle William
Acheſon for a chance, I ne wote whi it cam.
Charles to William hette he ſuld him ſauelý lede
Unto þe parlement ſette ageyn withouten drede;
Whan William was comen, ꝫ wende no treſoun,
Sone was he nomen, ꝫ don in priſoun.
Now is þe erle þus ſchent, bondon in iren ꝫ ſtele,
Philip to Flandres ſent, ꝫ ſeſid it ilk a dele,
And mad ſuilk wardeýns in his name to be;
Deſtroied al þe geýns, þat þei mot find or ſe,
Defoules þer wýues, þer douhtres lay bi,
Þer lordes ſlouh with knýues, of ſo had þei merci.
Þe tounes ſpak of þis, þe folk gadred aboute,
To renne oñ þe Frankis þe ſamned gret route;
Þei folowed on þam hard þorgh out þat cuntre,
Þat Frankis ꝫ Pikard alle were faýn to fle.
Þo þat fleih þei ferd vnto þe kýng of France,
Þe kýng he it herd, tak he wille vengeance.
Of knýght ꝫ of burgeis an oſte he did relie,
Bitauht it þe erle of Arteýs, þat oſte for to guýe.
He did þer no prow, he was firſt was doun,
A[d] foule herlote him ſlowe, trut for his renoun;
And oþer withouten numbir, þer names I may not telle,
Alle þei ȝede tille encumbir, ꝫ er went to helle.
Of[e] Huneys er þei clene, Pikard ꝫ Burgoilloun,
Of Baſcel ꝫ Viene, of Braban ꝫ Bretoun;
Þat tyme no at a noþer had þe Frankis no foiſoun,
Þei ꝫ alle þe toþer þe Flemmýnges laid þam doun.

[ce] Luy quens Gyllam de Flandres, vers qi contencioun Ly Rey de Fraunce aueit, par sodayn achesoun, Vilement estait trahy par Charloun, &c. *MSS. Gall.*

[d] Un ribaud li tuayt saunz confessioun, *Gall.*

[e] Ne Normaund, ne Pikard, ne le Burgylloun, Ne Vienays, ne Bascle, ne Braban, ne Bretouns, &c. *MSS. Gall.*

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Þat ſchame has ȝit non ende, no þat vpbraidýng
Þat on France ſalle lende, for falſnes of þer kýng.
Now ſalle we turne ageýn tille our owen leſſoun,
Whan Charles courte is pleýn, I gýue it mý maliſoun.
Þe date was euenlik a þouſand þre hundred ꝫ tuo,
Whan[f] þe erle of Karrik turned þe Scottis fro.
Sir Umfrey Boun þe kyng[g] his wife wedded þat ȝere,
Edward douhter þe kýng, Elizabeth þat clere.
In alle þiſe ſpekýnges men ȝede þat were wiſe
Bituexen þiſe tuo kýnges, þat no contek ſuld riſe,
Bot contene forth þe trew vnto þe Paſkes terme
Fro þe Saýnt Andrew, ſo long þe pes to afferme.
Of þis þe kýng of France praied ſir Edward,
Þat with his ſufferance ꝫ leue in forward
Suffre þe Scottis to go, þat men þat he for ſent;
Þe kyng tille alle þo gaf leue ꝫ þei alle went.
For perille of ſuilk goýnges þe kýng purueied to go,
Sir Jon of Haſtýnges he was firſt of þo,
And ſir Emerý þe Brette, to Goſcoýn[gg] forto wende,
To bide þe terme ſette, þe treus how it ſuld ende.
Þe[h] Inglis men were wone to werý long traýne,[i]
Diſhonour haf þei aý of þer long reſpite,
I ſpak þis for a daý, þe Scottis aſſailed þam tite,
Our men in Scotland with ſautes ſodeýnlý,
Þe Segraue mýght not ſtand, ſir Jon tok the gaýn ſtie.
His ſonne ꝫ his broþer of bedde als þei woke,
And ſextene knýghtes oþer, þe Scottis alle þam toke.

[f] Le Counte de Karryk les Escotz werpist, As gens le rey Edward de gre se rendist. Ly quens Vumfray de Boume cel an a femme prist La fylle al rey Edward, Elizabeth est dist, &c. *Gall.*

[g] "Ying," (?)

[gg] *Sic.*

[h] Nos Englays crioums, laschesse sait maldist, [*vel*, soit maudit] Kar qaunt al melz ferir [*vel*, a meuz ferrir,] plus auoms delit. Deshonour nous veent [*vel*, vynt] et pert par respit, Jeo parle pur Lescot, qe laltrere assaylist, Nos Englays en Escoce par assautsu bit. Sire Jon de Segraue son chemyn reprist, &c. *MSS. Gall.*

[i] It is obvious that a line is here omitted.

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Sergeantz wele þritty alle ȝald þam þat while,
On þei flouh fmertly, fir Thomas de Neuile.
Sir Rauf þe Coffrers þat tỳme was Treforere,
He was on of þe pers, his life was alle in wehere ;
He bed grete catelle, his lif forto faue,
Sir Symon þe Frefelle þat ilk catelle fuld haue.
Sỳmon was auftere, to Rauf fpak fulle grim :
" Þat mad þe Treforere þou has defeỳued him,
And me ⁊ manỳ mo, fro our wages ȝede quite.
Sir Rauf þou refceỳued þo, bi taile ⁊ bi fcrite,
Þou did us more trauaile, ilk man þou reft his wage ;
Now falle I wite þe taile, ⁊ put þe in þe arerage,
Of prefte þou has no merke, albe ne non amite,
Bot laced in a hauberke, þal is no clerkis abite.
For alle þo clerkes of Rome, þat fing in kirk or rede,
Þou falle haf þi dome, als þou ferued in dede."
A[ii] boye fulle pautenere he had a fuerd þat bote,
He ftirte vnto þe Cofrere, his handes firft of fmote ;
And fro þe body his heued a dỳnt þan did þe cleue,
His werrỳng fo he leued, at armes he tok leue.
In alle þis mykelle frape wex a grete diftance
Of Boniface þe pape, ⁊ þe kyng of France
Þe kyng faid ⁊ did crie, þe pape was heretike,
Ufure ⁊ fymonie, ⁊ fynne fodomike,
Errid miflỳuỳng, haunted Maumetrie,
Waftid kirkis þing, ⁊ lỳued in bugerie,
And was worþi to fchende boþe foule ⁊ lỳf,
To die withouten ende, þis mad þe kỳng vp rỳf.
Pape Boniface herd telle of þat crie,
He did bifor his face com holy þe clergie,
To confeil what were beft for þat vilanie
Þat þei ageỳn him keft, faid on him herefie.

[ii] Le Cofrere vn ribaud maintenant saisist, Les mayns ly copayt, la teste ly partist, &c. *MSS. Gall.*

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Þis conſeile alle þei ſaid, " Lat it ȝit reſt ⁊ ſlepe,
Þis fame of ȝow is laid, þo[k] wiſe men þat were ȝepe.
Wite, if he wille avowe alle his wikked ſawe,
Or amend ⁊ bowe, þer on behoues vs drawe."
Þe pape oñ þat couenaunt, he ſaid, he wild ſo wirke,
Þe amendis if he wild graunt to God ⁊ holy kirke;
And if he wild nouht com to amendement,
Alle France ſuld be brouht tille encumberment,
Þorgh comon enterdite, ⁊ þorgh croiſerie,
Als lond þat is alle quite fro God on ilk partie.
After ſalle ȝe here þe ende of þis folie,
Turne we tille our matere ⁊ on our geſt to hie.
Þe date a þouſand was, þre hundred mo bi þre,
Þe kyng did grete treſpas, diffamed þe papes ſe.
In þe next ſomereſtide ſir Edward had haſte,
No lenger wild he bide Scotland for to waſte.
Conſeil he had of on, a brigge he ſuld do wrihte,
Botes ⁊ barges ilkon, with flekes mak þam tighte,
Þe Scottis ſe to paſſe, if þat he had nede;
Þer paſſage neuer ore waſſe, he rode ouer on his ſtede.
Þe Scottis ſauh him com, fleand faſt þei ȝede,
Mores ⁊ mountaỳns nom, bifore þei drỳue for drede.
Þe kyng did parte his oſte, to ſprede in parties ſere,
Weſt alle bi þat coſte ȝede þe erle of Hulueſtere.
Þe[l] kỳnges oſte at geſſe in þe eſt mad lardere,
Of tounes ⁊ hameleſſe, of granges ⁊ garner,
More ⁊ mede did rỳnce, wod ⁊ plaỳn he brent;
Þe ſame way þe prince deſtroied þer he went.
So fer northward he ferde, þe Scottis to chace,
Of Inglis no man herde, þat euer kỳng had þat grace,
So fer baner to bere, ⁊ ſuilk oſte forto lede,
No waſted with no werre, þe cuntres gan þam drede,

[k] *F.* thro. [l] Luy Rey vers lorient enprent son aler, Hamelez et villes, graunges et gerner, Et playnes e voydes par tote fet arder, *&c.* *MSS. Gall.*

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Saue kỳng Athelſtan, þat waſted alle Cateneſſe.
Siþen was no man, þat ſo fer mad ſtreſſe.
Þe tounes, þe countes, þe foreỳns alle aboute,
To þe kỳng felle on knes, his powere did þam loute,
Un to his pes þam ȝald, feaute did him ſuere,
Treuly with him to hald, non armes ageỳn him bere.
Be þat þe werre was ent wỳnter was þer ȝare,
To Dounfermelỳn he went, for reſt wild he þare.
For þe quene he ſent, ꝫ ſcho did dight hire chare,
Fro Cawod ſcho glent, to Dounfermelỳn to fare.
Þe lord of Badenauh, Freſelle ꝫ Waleis,
Lyued at þeues lauh, euer robband alle weis;
Þei had no ſuſtenance, þe werre to maỳntene,
Bot ſkulked opon chance ꝫ robbed aỳ bituene.
Þei com vnto þe kỳng, for pes if it mot tide
Opon þer aſkỳng, he iorned þam to bide;
Men bred for þat iorne, þei ſuld haf had þe pes,
For eſt þan ſuld men ſe, bigỳn alle new þe res.
In þat ȝere it ſais, þe pape had grete deſpite
Þorgh þe Columpneis,[m] Cardinalles of habite;
Þei were born in Rome all þe Columpneis,
Þat kỳnde bare þe blome, riche men ꝫ curteis,
Men ſaid alle þat kỳnde had whilom þe dignite,
If clerke of þam mỳght fỳnde, pape ſuld he be;
Þus þan was þe ſawe whilom in þat cite.
Þe pape fordid þat lawe, þe ſkille can I not ſe.
Cardinals were þei, þe pape did þam down,
And exiled þam awei, ꝫ mad diſtructioun
Of londes ꝫ feez, þer kaſtels doun he caſt,
And alle þer dignitez, ne lengere ſuld þei laſt,
Grete was þat linage ꝫ manỳ to þam cheued,
And of þat ilk outrage þe feſt þam ſore agreued.

[m] See Platina, *De Vitis Pontificum Rom.*, p. 231. Col. Agrip. M.DC.XXVII. See likewise Lassels's Voyage of Italy, part I., p. 246. Paris, 1670. Ed. 2d.

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Þat þe pape did þam reuile, of þo in Rome þat wore,
Went vnto Cezile, þore help þei fond wele more.
Þe kýng of France þidere ſent þam help inouh,
Þer kýnde ꝫ þei togidere vntille Anaýne þei drouh,
Þer þe Columpne kýnde þe pape forſoth þei toke,
Treſore þat þei mot fýnde with þam awaý þei ſchoke.
Tuo[n] daýs þe pape withouten mete laý,
Þe þrid day com grete frape, ꝫ conged him awaý;
Of alle þat grete treſoure þat euer he biwan,
Als bare was his toure as Iob, þe pouere man.
Men ſais he gaf pardoun, aſſoiled þam of pýne,
Þat with deuocioun brouht him brede or wýne;
Grete pite it was, þat þe hede of Criſtendam
Suld for aný treſpas take ſo foule a ſcham.
Wele I wote alle fraýed he went fro þat cite
Vnto Rome miſpaýed to þe papes ſe.
He curſed þe kýng of France, ꝫ alle þat with him held,
Þat did him þat miſchance, ageyn him reiſed ſcheld;
He lýued bot þre daýs, ꝫ died ſone þei ſaid,
Þe ſoner for þat affraýs; at Petir Kirke is he laid.
Now haf we bulle certeyn, a newe pape Benet,
Þat calles þer ageyn, þat Boniface ſet,
Aſſoýles alle bi name, þe robbours þorgh grace,
Þat did deſpite ꝫ ſchame to pape Boniface.
Who may now in Rome haf any ſikerneſſe,
Þat þer is hieſt dome, ꝫ ȝit vncerteýn es?
Þat Boniface bond with ſentence ſo brim,
Eft men Benet fond, þat he aſſoiled him.
He[o] is fole þat affies in þe Courte of Rome,
Comes a noþer ꝫ bies, ꝫ fordos þat dome.

[n] Le Pape saunz viaunde fu .ii. iours en subit, Par eyde suruenaunt le terce iour issist, [*vel* assit.] *MSS. Gall.*

[o] Molt est sotz et fous, en Rome qe ceo fist, Pur quant posse dare, a graunt et a petit, Par fare et par defare Rome nus derist, Ho la de choses par de ca dalyer nous suffist, [*in the French copy that belongs to the Herald's office, but in Mr Anstis's,*] Mult est fort et fous en Rome qe ceo fit, Pro quanto posse dare, a grant et a petit, Bo la de chose par de cea dalier nous fit.

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Pur quante poſſe dare, what þing ꝫ how mẏkelle,
Pur fare et defare, Rome is now fulle ſikelle.

Turne we now oþer weys vnto our owen geſte,
And ſpeke of þe Waleys, þat lies in þe foreſte;
In þe foreſt he lendes of Dounfermelyn.
He praied all his frendes ꝫ oþer of his kyn,
After þat Ȝole þei wilde biſeke Edward,
Þat he mot him ȝelde tille him in a forward
Þat were honorable to kepe wod or beſte,
And with his ſcrite fulle ſtable ꝫ ſeled at þe leſt,
To him ꝫ alle hiſe to haf in heritage,
And not oþer wiſe, als terme, tyme ꝫ ſtage,
Bot als a propire þing, þat were conqueſt tille him.
Whan þei brouht þat tiþing, Edward was fulle grim
And bitauht him þe fende, als his traytoure in lond,
And euer ilkon his frende, þat him ſufteynd or fond.
Þre hundreth marke he hette vnto his wariſoun,
Þat with him ſo mette, or bring his hede to toun;
Now flies William Waleis, of pes nouht he ſpedis,
In mores ꝫ mareis with robberie him fedes.
Here now how þei ſped, þe Scottis in his mercie,
Þe Freſelle firſt fled, out taken on þer partie;
Tuo ȝere out of kith, in ſtrange reame ſuld be,
Þe þrid ſuld he haf grith, ageỳn to haf his fe;
Þe toþer alle ſuld haue boþe lif ꝫ lỳmmes,
And þer tenement ſaue, bot raunſon of þam nunn es.
Raunſon ſuld þei gỳue after þer folie,
And in his pes to lỳue, ꝫ haf þer manauntie.
Siþen in þe Lenten tide he went to Saỳnt Andrew,
About on ilk a ſide did crie his pes alle new;
Þe biſſhop of Glaſcow þe clergie alle out ches,
Þe beſt men ꝫ trew, ꝫ com vnto þe pes.
Þe kỳng was ſo curteis, he granted þam þer wille,
Saue þe amendes he ſais raunſon for þer ille,

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And ſuld be bot right bifor þe baronie,
And at þe comon ſight of alle þer clergie.
After þe Paſk ſone þe kỏng did make alle ȝare,
Þat þis oſte were bone to Striuelyn to fare;
Whan þei were alle comen, þei ȝede about to ſe,
How it mot be nomen, ⁊ þe engỏnes ſet ſuld be.
Thrittene gret engỏnes, of alle þe reame þe beſt,
Brouht þei to Striuelyne, þe kaſtelle doun to keſt.
Tuo knỏghtes were þer in, þe caſtelle had in warde,
Sir William of Depplỏn, Sir William Olifarde,
And[p] tuentie of honour without page ⁊ portere,
And a frere prechoure, a monke þe conſeilere;
Þer was with in þrittene maỏdens ⁊ ladies,
And no mo men to mene, þat felle to telle of pris.
An engỏn had þei þer in, ⁊ profred for to kaſt,
Þe ȝerde braſt in tuỏn, to help mot it not laſt.
Þe engỏns with oute, to kaſt were þei ſette,
Wallis ⁊ kirnels ſtoute þe ſtones doun bette.
Þe kỏng did mak rỏght ȝare an hidous engỏn,
Þe name þei called Ludgare or Lurdare of Striuelyn.
Whan þei keſt þerto, þe walle þorghout þei clef,
And non oþer did ſo bifor him alle doun dref.
Þre monethes ⁊ þre daỏs þe ſege ſo long þei teld,
Fulle ⁊ harde affraỏs had alle þo þat it held;
Sore þei were trauailed, ⁊ ſocour com þam non,
And alle þer ſtore failed, þer mete was nere gon.
Tille þer kỏng þei ſent, þei wild be at his wille,
Bot he wild not conſent, he þouht to do þam ille.
So[q] long was þe traỏne, or it were brouht to ſtalle,
It were to me grete paỏne forto telle it alle.

[p] Et .xx. gentyls homes, saunz pages et porter, Une frere Jacobyn, vn moigne counsayller, *MSS. Gall.*

[q] Taunt fust la traine longe de la pees parler, Ke ioe ne say ne pusse la maite recorder, *MSS. Gall.*

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I wote wele at þe laſt alle com þei oute,
Withouten couaunt caſt, tille his mercẏ gan loute;
Boldely þei camen, ⁊ ſchewed þam to his face,
Felle it to gode or grame, þei did þam in his grace.
Þe caſtelle now is ȝolden, þe kẏng dos wardeẏns wiſe
To kepe þe lond ⁊ dres, þe folk forto juſtiſe.
Þe lond was ſo waſt he mad þer no ſoioure,
Tille Inglond in haſt he turned with honoure.
Þe moneth of September ȝolden was Striuelyn,
Edward may remember þe trauaile ⁊ þe pẏn,
With many grete encumbere of in hard ſtoure,
At Bruſtwik opon Humbre þer he mad ſoioure.
Sir Jon of Warenne þat ilk tẏme gan deie,
His body was redẏ þen in graue forto leie;
After þe enterment þe kẏng tok his waẏ,
To þe ſouth he went þorgh Lyndeſaẏ.
He ſpired as he ȝede, who did ſuilk treſpas,
Brak his pes with dede, tille he in Scotlond was,
Of ſuilk ſuld be ſpoken, if men of þam pleẏned,
Þo þat þe pes had broken, if þei mot be atteẏned.
Wiſe[r] men of gode gaf anſuere to þe kẏng,
Þat ſuilk foles ȝode, it was certeẏn þing;
Þorgh þe lond is don ſuilk grete greuance,
Bot it be mendid ſon, a werre may riſe o chance.
Þiſe coutekours whidere þei aſſigned a ſtede þat es,
And þer þei com togidere ⁊ mak a ſikernes,
Þat þei ſalle alle go to whom, or where þei wille,
To robbe, bete or ſlo, ageyn alle manere ſkille.

[r] Respouns ount fet al reiz gentz de bien voillaunce, Coment par my la tere fet est graunt greuaunce, Par commune contekours, qe sunt par fiaunce Obliges ensemble a vne purueaunce, Traylbastouns sunt nomez de cel retenaunce. En faires et en marches se profrerent [*vel* proferent] fere couenaunce, Pur .iij. souz ou .iiij. ou pur la vayllaunce Batre vn prod home, qe vnques fist nosaunce, &c. *MSS. Gall.*

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Þei profere a man to bete, for tuo ſchilẏnges or þre,
With piked ſtaues grete, beten ſalle he be,
In feire ⁊ markette þei ſalle ſeke him oute;
Alle þe lond is ſette with ſuilk foles ſtoute.
If a chapman will not lene of his merchaundie,
In his hous for tene þei do him vilenie,
Or els he be at one largely to gẏue of his,
Els þei ſalle him ilkone bete him þat he pis.
For men of ſuilk maners, bot þer be ſom juſtiſe,
Sone in for ȝers per chance a werre ſalle riſe.
Þe kyng herd alle þe fame, þe pleẏnt of ilka toun,
And gaf þam a new name, ⁊ cald þam Traile baſtoun.
Þe date was a þouſand, þre hundred mo bi fiue,
Suilk men þro þe land he did þam tak bilẏue.
  The kẏng þorgh þe lond did ſeke men o reſons
And with þe juſtiſe þam bond, to ſite oñ Trailebaſtons.
Som þorgh queſt þei demed be bonden in priſons,
And þo þat fled þei flemed als þe kynges felons.
Som men out þe kaſt of lond was holden wrong,
Fals couenantz þei braſt þorgh powere holden long,
And ſom gaf raunſon after þer treſpas,
Als þe dede was done, ſo þe amendes was.
Bot men did amend ſuilk folie openlẏ knowen,
  Non ſuld þam defend, ne dur wonne in þer owen.
A! Jheſu, whan þou wille how rightwis is þi mede!
Þat of þe wrong has gilt, þe endẏng may þei drede.
William Waleis is nomen, þat maiſter was of theues,
Tiþyng to þe kyng is comen, þat robberie miſcheues.
Sir Jon of Meneteſt ſewed William ſo nehi,
He tok him whan he wend leſt, on nyght his leman bi.
Þat was þorght treſon of Jak Schort his man,
He was þe encheſon þat Sir Jon ſo him nam.
Jak broþer had he ſlaẏn, þe Waleis þat is ſaid,
Þe more Jak was fayn to do William þat braid.

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Selcouthly he endis þe man þat is fals,
If he treft oñ his frendes, þei begile him als.
Begiled is William, taken is ⁊ bondon,
To Inglond with him þei cam, ⁊ led him vnto London;
Þe firft dome he fanged, for trefon was he drawen,
For robbrie was he hanged, ⁊ for he had men flawen,
And for he had brent abbeis ⁊ men of religion,
Eft fro þe galweis quik þei lete him doun,
And bouweld him alle hote, ⁊ brent þam in þe fire,
His hede þan of fmote, fuilk was William hire;
And for he had mayntend þe werre at his myght,
On lordfchip lended þore he had no right,
And ftroied þore he knewe in fele ftede fers,
His body þei hewe on foure quarters,
To hang in foure tounes, to mene of his maners,
In ftede of gonfaynounes, ⁊ of his baners.
At London is his heued, his quarters ere leued, in Scotland fpred
To wirfchip þer iles, ⁊ lere of his wiles, how wele that he fped.
It is not to drede, traytour falle fpede, als he is worþi
His lyfe falle he tine, ⁊ die þorgh pyne, withouten merci.
Þus may men here, a ladde forto lere, to biggen in pays;
It fallis in his ȝe, þat hewes ouer hie, with þe Walays.

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VII.

EXTRACT FROM THE SCOTICHRONICON OF FORDUN.[s]

DE PRIMORDIIS WILLELMI WALLACE.[t]

EODEM anno inclitus ille bellator Willelmus Wallace, Anglicorum malleus et flagellum, filius nobilis militis[u] ejusdem nominis, caput levavit; et videns contritionem gentis suæ, et possessiones Scotorum datas in manus inimicorum, emarcuit cor ejus, et condoluit valde. Erat enim statura procerus, corpore giganteus, facie serenus, vultu jucundus, humeris latus, ossibus grossus, ventre congruus, lateribus protelus, aspectu gratus, sed visu ferus; renibus amplus, brachiis et cruribus vigorosus; pugil acerrimus, et omnibus artubus fortissimus et compactus. Insuper sic eum Altissimus, et ipsius vultum varium quadam hilaritate favorabili insigniverat, ita dicta et facta illius quodam cœlesti dono gratificaverat, ut omnium fidorum corda Scotorum solo aspectu sibi conciliaret in gratiam et favorem. Et nec mirum; erat enim in donis liberalissimus, in judiciis æquissimus, in consolatione tristium compatientissimus, in consilio peritissi- A.D. 1297.

[s] Concerning the authorship of the different portions of this work, the sources whence derived, and its historic importance, there is considerable difficulty. It is to be regretted that there exists no edition in which the component parts furnished by the different authors is clearly indicated. The present extracts are from Goodall's edition, corrected in some places by the Harl. MS. 145, and a MS. belonging to the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge, O. 919, (xv Cent. extending to Lib. XIV., cap. xlvii.)

[t] Scotichronicon, Lib. XI., cap. xxviii.

[u] A marked distinction exists between the English and Scottish accounts on the origin of Wallace. There seems reason to believe that the latter narratives are in this respect entitled to the greater credit.

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mus, in ſufferentia patientiſſimus, in locutione luculentiſſimus, ſuper omnia falſitatem et mendacia proſequens, ac proditionem deteſtans; propter quod fuit Dominus cum eo, per quem erat vir in cunctis proſpere agens; eccleſiam venerans, eccleſiaſticos reverens,[v] pauperes et viduas ſuſtentans, pupillos et orphanos refovens, oppreſſos relevans, furibus et raptoribus inſidians, et ſine pretio ſuper eos juſtitiam exercens et rigorem.[w] Cujuſcemodi juſtis operibus, quia quam maxime Deum gratificabat, Ipſe propterea omnia ejus opera dirigebat. Hic, quaſi in principio militiæ ſuæ, Vicecomitem de Lanark, Willelmum de Heſlope,[x] Anglicum, virum ſtrenuum armis et potentem militem, in villa de Lanark interfecit. Ex eo igitur tempore, quaſi apes ad examen, congregati ſunt ad eum omnes qui erant amaro animo, et oppreſſi pondere ſervitutis ſub intolerabili principatu Anglicanæ dominationis. Et factus eſt eorum dux. Erat enim, ut præmiſimus, miræ fortitudinis et audaciæ, decorus aſpectu, dapſilis et liberalitatis immenſæ,[y] ſanguine clarus; cujus parentes militari honore præfulgebant; cujus frater ſenior, miles, Andreas nomine, et militiæ cingulo ſuccinctus, Anglorum fraude interemtus, pro ſtatu ſuo patrimonium ſufficiens habuit in terris, quod et ſuis poſteris tenendum reliquit. Hic undique,[z] cuſtos regni deputatus, Anglicos proſternens, et quotidie proficiens, in brevi tempore omnes magnates Scotiæ[a] vi et

[v] The conduct of Wallace at Hexham, as detailed by Hemingford, completely warrants this piece of commendation.

[w] Quia hujusmodi justis operibus alacrius insistebat, propterea Altissimus omnia ejus opera dirigebat. Cum itaque, quasi in principio militiæ suæ, ipse rebus inops sed generosus, ipse solus sed vigorosus, ipse despectus sed animosus, Vicecomitem de Lanark, Willelmum de Heslope, Anglicum, virum strenuum armis et potentem militem, in villa de Lanark interfecisset, et diversis assultibus diversos elatos et potentes Anglicos armorum phalangis conglobatos, ipse, interdum solus, interdum paucis comitatus, strenue et feliciter devicisset, et de finibus patriæ hinc inde eliminasset, ... *MS. Cuprensis.*

[x] The Inditement of Wallace, printed in a subsequent page, calls him "Hesebregg."

[y] Circumspectus et gnarus, genere et generositate præclarus. *MS. Cupr.*

[z] Custos regni deputatus est. Nam revelatione mirifica ostensum est fide dignioribus diversis, sanctissimum Apostolum Andream, regni Scotiæ protectorem et patronum, dicto Willelmo Wallace gladium cruentatum manualiter commississe, stricte sibi præcipiendo eo utrobique uti ad defensionem regni Anglicos propulsando. Custos itaque effectus, misit manum suam ad fortia, Anglicos prosternens, Anglicatos reconcilians, oppressos relevans, et quotidianis incrementis proficiens. *Id.*

[a] Qui indignabantur legibus suis subdi, *addit idem.*

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virtute probitatis ſuæ velint, nolint, ſuo ſubjecit imperio.[b] Et ſi quis de magnatibus gratis ſuis non obediret mandatis, hunc tenuit et coercuit, et cuſtodiæ mancipavit, donec ſuis bene placitis penitus obtemperaret. Et ſic pacatis omnibus, viriliter ſe contulit ad expugnanda caſtra et villas firmatas, in quibus Anglici principabantur, per omnia patriæ liberationi et ſubverſioni inimicorum ſolerter intendens; et quod violenta virtute non valuit, id ſagaciori cautela ad effectum perducere ſtuduit. Nam ad executionem cujuſcunque ſui propoſiti hortatus eſt ſuos commilitones unanimiter ſemper pugnam pro libertate patriæ ſe fore congreſſuros.[c] Et de omnium ſuorum ſequacium multitudine ſub pœna capitis ſtatuit, ut coram ſe ſemper collocatis mediocrum perſonarum inferioribus, ſive, ut apparuit, minus robore valentibus, unus de quinque, qui ſuper alios quatuor ex omnibus quinariis eligatur, qui quaternio nuncupetur, ejuſque præcepto in omnibus ab illis obediatur, et qui non obedierit occidatur. Similiter etiam, ſemper ad robuſtiores et valentiores aſcendendo, ſuper novem ſcilicet decimus, qui Decurio dicatur, et ſuper novemdecim viceſimus, et ſic uſque ad mille, qui Chiliarcha, et ultra uſque ad ſummum aſcendendo; tandem ipſe ſuper omnes excellens armiductor et campiductor habeatur; cui omnes, uſque ad mortem, obedire teneantur. Omnes autem hanc legem ſive pro lege concorditer approbantes,[d] ipſum in capitaneum elegerunt, et prædictum ſtatutum ſe uſque ad regem legitime ſucceſſurum[e] ſervaturos promiſerunt.

QUOMODO NORTHUMBRIAM DESTRUXIT.[f]

Fama igitur Willelmi Wallace ubique ventilata, tandem ad aures regis Angliæ, proclamante damno ſuis illato, pervenit; qui arduis negotiis alibi

[b] Æqualiter pro personarum qualitate tam parvum quam magnum rectificans, alterum non lædens, sed quod suum erat unicuique dijudicans et tribuens. *Id.*

[c] Et inimicos non formidare; hoc sæpius Scotis repetens, quod vere pro patria tuta est pugna, in qua pugnantem nec vulneratum nec prostratum conculcat fraudalis victoria; tantum ne fugiamus. Sola causa qua inimicis parare poterimus victoriam fuga est. Fugiendo possumus illam amittere, moriendo nequaquam; et beati, si pro libertate nostra, quam nobis Autor naturæ indidit, pugnando moriamur; quia mox coronabimur. Et ne de facili sui præsidio fugæ consulerent . . . . . *Id.*

[d] Quamvis nonnulli magnatum corde tenus dissecabantur, *addunt MSS. Cupren. et Perth.*

[e] Affuturum, *ibid.*

[f] Scotichronicon, Lib. XI., cap. xxix.

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multipliciter intentus,[g] ſuum Theſaurarium, Hugonem de Creſſinghame, cum magna potentia, ad reprimendam ipſius Willelmi audaciam, et regnum Scotiæ ſibi ſubjugandum, deſtinavit. Audito igitur tanti viri cum armata manu adventu, prædictus Willelmus tunc circa obſeſſionem Anglicorum in caſtro de Dundé exſiſtentium occupatus, ſtatim, commiſſa cura et diligentia obſeſſionis caſtri ejuſdem, villæ burgenſibus, ſub pœna amiſſionis vitæ et membrorum, cum ſuo exercitu ſub omni feſtinatione verſus Strivelyne, eidem Hugoni obvius proceſſit; et gravi bello commiſſo apud pontem de Strivelyne, tertio idus Septembris [Sep. 11] anno Domini milleſimo, ducenteſimo, nonageſimi ſeptimo, idem Hugo de Creſſinghame interfectus eſt, et cunctus ejus exercitus in fugam converſus, aliis ex ipſis gladiis jugulatis, aliis captis, aliis aquis ſubmerſis; ſed cunctis Dei virtute ſuperatis, prædictus Willelmus, cum laude non modica, felici potitus eſt victoria. Ex cujus parte de numero nobilium Scotiæ, ſolus Andreas de Moravia, pater Andreæ nobilis, vulneratus occubuit.[h] De hoc bello habentur hujuſmodi metra;

Ex quo cor validum Scoti ſumſere, movente
Willelmo Wallace, et eos guerrare docente,
Ut, quos captivos tenuit gens Anglica vivos,
Ad propriam Scotos facerent patriam redivivos.
Inſuper ut regem facerent regnare Johannem
In regno proprio; quia ſi vellent alieno
Regi ſervire, poſſent ſua jura perire.
Hinc tercenteno milleno ter minus uno
Annorum Domini dicuntur vincere Scoti
Anglos infeſtos, quos reddunt funere mæſtos:
Ut pons teſtatur, ubi bellum grande notatur,
Qui Strivelyn juxta Forth amnem conditur ultra.
Septembris terno fuit idus iſta ſuperno
Dono devotis gratia facta Scotis.

[g] Edward was at that period engaged, with his accustomed vigour and energy, in prosecuting his affairs in Flanders.

[h] Cecidit vulneratus, *edit. H.*, gladio occubuit, *MS. D. G. M.*

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Poſt iſtiuſmodi igitur triumphalem victoriam, feſtinavit ſe Cuſtos Scotiæ prædictus Willelmus Wallace ad continuandam obſidonem caſtri de Dundé; ad cujus adventum cuſtodes Anglici perterriti, ob fortunatam Strivelenſem victoriam, cum ingenti armorum et theſauri copia, nulla pactione præmiſſa, ad deditionem caſtri ipſos coegit. Quo audito, ſuper reliquos hoſtes irruit timor et tremor. Ac ipſe Cuſtos cetera caſtella et municipia, quæ de manu noſtrorum rapuerant Angli, quædam ad ſolum diruit, quædam firmæ cuſtodiæ Scotorum committit, nonnulla etiam vacua dimittit. Appropinquante vero autumnali tempore, maxima in regno ingruit cariſtia et victualium inopia, deficientibus undique granis auræ inclementia. Propter quod, ſegetibus in areis et horreis introductis, ſummonere fecit Cuſtos univerſos et ſingulos Scotos patriæ defenſibiles, ut terram inimicorum invaderent, et ibidem victitarent; necnon ad tranſigendam inibi ratam hiemalem, ad parcendum ſuis propriis victualibus permodicis, in areis, ut præmiſimus, congregatis. De omni igitur vicecomitatus et ſchira, baronia et dominio, oppido et villagio, civitate et burgo, atque prædio ruſticano, habebat ſpeciales matriculas, virorum ad bellandum infra ſedecim et ſexaginta annos nomina continentes; ita ut nec unus quidem abſque ipſius ſcientia, tempore et loco ſtatutis, abeſſe poterat inperceptus. Quinetiam ſtatuit ſanctione pragmatica, quod non ſolum in omni baronia, ſed etiam ad omnem valentem villam, patibulum erigeretur, quibus ſuſpenderentur omnes ſe ab exercitu ſummoniti, ſine rationabili cauſa ſubterfugia confingentes. Quod et factum eſt. Nam et ipſe cum immani exercitu expeditionem faciens, et nonnullos burgenſes de Aberden et alios non veniſſe comperiens, conſtituit, ut præmiſimus, quaterniones, pentatarchos, decuriories, centuriones, et chiliarchos, et hujuſmodi, ad ſibi præſidendum commiſſis,[1] et verſus Angliam ante feſtum Omnium Sanctorum iter arripiendum; ipſe, cum admodum paucis, omni feſtinantia habenas retorſit, et apud Abirden et in confinibus inexcuſatos, qui poſt exercitum remanſerant, ſuſpendio punivit, et ad exercitum celerius credito rediit; ubi totam Northumbriam uſque Novumcaſtrum conculcans et devaſtans, a feſto Omnium Sanctorum, uſque ad Purificationem

[1] Præsidendum de exercitu. *MSS. Cupr. et Perth.*

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noſtræ Dominæ, vel ad minus, ut quidam libri chronigraphizant, cum ſuo exercitu in Anglia uſque ad Natale Domini, hiemavit; et combuſta tota terra de Allirdale, abductis prædis, cum ſuis ſpoliis ditatis Scotis, ſanus ad propria rediit et ſecurus.

QUOMODO SINE PUGNA CUSTOS SCOTIÆ WILLELMUS FUGAVIT ET DEVICIT ANGLOS.[k]

Hæc audiens rex Eadwardus, rabida ſuccenſus ira, et ſeipſum præ dolore non ſuſtinens guerrare regem Franciæ, ut diſpoſuit,[l] intermiſit, quod utique Gallicis ad maximam ceſſit conſolationem. Nam, judicio quorundam, ſi Scoti tunc illum, per guerrarum molimina, de Gallia non revocaſſent, major pars domus Franciæ in pendulo perſtitiſſet. Divertens igitur rex Eadwardus a Galiis, petiit terras proprias, ubi attendens ſtrages et depopulationes per Scotos ſibi et ſuis illatas, ſcripſit Cuſtodi Scotiæ Willelmo Wallace literas comminatorias, dicens inter cetera; "Quod ſi ipſe rex in regno ſuo perſtitiſſet, non auſus fuiſſet Wallace talia attemtaſſe; ſed ſi auderet Angliam reinvadere, manus ipſius regis ſibi et ſuis præſto ultrices vindictam de præſumtione ſentiret expetere." Quid plura? Audita Willelmus regis protervia et comminabili jactantia, ſibi nuncium remiſit, "Se citra ſolemnitatem Paſchalem regnum ſuum denuo reviſurum."

Congregatis igitur hinc inde utriuſque regni exercitibus, prope Stanmore[m] deventum eſt veriſimiliter ad conflictum. Ubi, ex parte Scotorum, tirones et cordatus juventus militiæ licentiam a Cuſtode petierunt, ut ante aciem poſſent, pro ipſorum calcaribus deaurandis, Anglos experiri. Quod fieri uſquequaque non ſinens, præcepit voce præconis omnibus, ſub pœna capitis, ordinem eis præinſertum ſervare, ac gravitate ſolita necnon maturitate præconcepta incedere. Cum ex adverſo rex Angliæ cum innumerabili quaſi multitudine et pompoſo lituorum et tubarum clangore perſtrepens, prætendebat ſe exercitum Scotorum, quaſi non difficili, cor-

[k] Scotichronicon, Lib. XI., cap. xxx.

[l] Facilius de matrimonio contrahendo cum sorore regis Franciæ consentiens, *hic addit Lib. Cupr.*

[m] Stanmore, a tract of country upon the west of the county of Durham, extending towards Cumberland.

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repturum. Sed cum cerneret rex Scotos ſapienter unanimi et ſolido inceſſu procedentes, non diſtantes per medium miliaris a congreſſu ſuorum commilitonum, conſilio ſe cum ſuis regirans, locum dedit malitiæ hujus horæ. Quod videntes Scoti, voluerunt unanimiter regem perſequi fugientem, ſed ne hoc etiam fieret, Cuſtos ſub omiſſione vitæ interdixit, dicens, " Quod inter certamina inter regna, præaudita figura fuit pulcerrimæ victoriæ, attendere magnanimem regem Angliæ, in ſolo, quod ſuum eſſe dicebat, cum ſuis regalibus concionibus et metuendis ſatrapis, a minutis communienſibus et patriotis Scotiæ terga dediſſe, nondum exacto gladio parte ex adverſa." Quo ſermone ab ore ejus mellito ab univerſo Scotorum exercitu audito, de equis deſcendentes, et ad terram ſe proſternentes, Deum glorificaverunt et Sanctum Andream, necnon pium confeſſorem Cuthbertum, in cujus memoriali de hoc ſeculo tranſitu hæc dies celebris agebatur; quia, per talis gubernatoris induſtriam et tutelam, inimicorum virtus emarcuit et potentia; et tam ipſi Scoti, quam Scotia, laude perenni tam prædicabilis victoriæ conſecuti ſunt inſignia. Ferunt tamen Angli, quod rex non fuit ibi præſens in perſona, ſed in tunica armorum aliis ſibi ſimilis refulſit.

De præmiſſis hujuſmodi habentur metra, ad bellum pontis de Strivelyne conſequentia;

Congregat hinc Scotos dictus cognomine Wallace,
Sicut grana legit, quod fertur Gallice Valais.
Anglos proſequitur, ut bellum continuaret,
Et libertatem Scotiæ bello renovaret.
Tunc Anglicorum ſubverſio tantaque talis,
Quam nunquam ſimilem ſentivit pars borealis.
Uſque Novum-caſtrum periit Northumbria tota,
Sic verſus Stanmor complent Scoti ſua vota.
Anno præfato Domini redeunt iterato
Angli Berwico pugnaturi, tibi dico,
Feſto Cuthberti, vernali tempore, certi.
Scoti ſpectabant, campo pugnare putabant,
Ut promiſerunt Angli; ſed non tenuerunt
Quod promiſerunt, ſtatim ſed terga dederunt.

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Quod cum viderent Scoti triſtes abierunt,
Reciprocæ regis fert Anglia dedecus ægis.
Concio Scotena, collaudans dona ſuprema,
Et ſi non plena, grates tamen fert ut egena.
Surgit et exſultat domus omnis, laude reſultat,
Cum rex aufugit; hinc triſtior Anglia mugit.

DE CONSPIRATIONE CONTRA CUSTODEM CONCEPTA PER MAGNATES.[n]

Scotia igitur mirabiliter, immo feliciter, ſagacitate Cuſtodis reſpirans, cum unuſquiſque in ſuo perſiſteret ſecure, et terram, ut ſolito, coleret, ſæpiſſimeque de inimicis triumpharet, magnates et potentiores regni, fonte invidiæ debriati, conjurationem clandeſtinam contra Cuſtodem, vultus virgineos ſibi prætendentes, ſed caudis ad invicem colligatis, ſeditioſe confinxerunt. Unde quidam, qui ſuis per ipſum municipiis ac dominiis erant reſtituti, excluſis penitus ab eiſdem Anglicis, elato corde et rancoroſo animo ſuſurrabant,[o] ad invicem dicentes, "Nolumus hunc regnare ſuper nos." Plebeii tamen et populares, una cum pluribus de nobilioribus, quorum mens ſanior erat et ad rempublicam proclivior, laudabant Deum, eo quod ipſi, per talem propugnatorem, ab æmulorum auſibus erepti, propriis poterat laribus confoveri. O ſtolida fatuitas fatuorum! Wallace non ſe ingeſſit ad regnandum, ſed, amotis prius nominatis cuſtodibus, electione ſtatuum erigitur in Rectorem. Et cum tu Scotia! acephala teipſam defendere nequiveras, ipſe brachium tibi exſtiterat immane, et ſalus in tempore tribulationis. O æmula inſidia! cur in tantum dominaris in Scotia? Scotorum, proh dolor! natura eſt odire non ſolum alienæ, ſed et propriæ patriotæ felicitati. Et hoc reſpectu inferiorum, ne ſibi coæquentur; reſpectu ſuperiorum, quia eis non æquantur; et reſpectu parium, quia ſibi æquiparantur. In hoc poterunt aſſimilari Cain, qui invidit Abel proſperitati; Rachel Liæ fœcunditati; Saul David felicitati; et, ut ita dicam, Scotis Wallace magnaminitati. Sic per invidiam procuratus eſt lapſus cleri, ruina populi, et caſus regni.

[n] Scotichronicon, Lib. XL, cap. xxxi.

[o] Submurmurabant, *MSS. Cupr. et Perth.*

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DE BELLO VARIÆ-CAPELLÆ, ET ALIIS.[p]

Anno gratiæ milleſimo ducenteſimo, nonageſimo octavo, rex Angliæ moleſte ferens damna et anguſtias ſibi et ſuis per Willelmum Wallace multipliciter illata, congregato grandi exercitu partes Scotiæ hoſtiliter intravit, habens ſecum in ſuum auxilium quoſdam de nobilibus Scotiæ. Cui occurrens prædictus Willelmus cum ceteris magnatibus dicti regni, commiſſo gravi bello juxta Variam-Capellam,[q] .xj. kalendas Auguſti, in feſto Sanctæ Mariæ Magdelenæ, non ſine gravi damno tam procerum, quam mediocrium gentis Scoticanæ[r] in fugam converſus eſt. Nam, propter conceptam malitiam, ex fonte invidiæ generatam, quam erga dictum Willelmum Comynenſes habebant, cum ſuis complicibus campum deferentes, illæſi evaſerunt. Cognita autem eorum malitia, antedictus Willelmus, ſe et ſuos ſalvare deſiderans, per aliam viam fugere feſtinavit. A.D. 1298.

Quos inſequens ex adverſo Robertus de Bruce, cum inter utriuſque militiæ cohortes profunda et quaſi immeabilis vallis effoſſata appareret, fertur ipſum Robertum elata voce clamare ad Willelmum, quærens, Quis eum coegit talia præſumere, ut, in contrarium altipotentiæ regis Angliæ et potioris partis Scotiæ, tam temerarie contenderet decertare. Ad quem fertur Willelmum hujuſmodi dediſſe reſponſum: "Tua, O Roberte! Roberte! inertia et effeminata ignavia me ſtimulant et provocant ad tuæ juris patriæ liberationem; ſed et nunc ſemivir de cubilibus ad aciem, de umbra ad ſolem progreſſurus, cujus corpus delicatum, mollibus aſſuetum, pondus prœlii pro patriæ propriæ liberatione, loricæ onus ſegniter aſſumens, me ſic præſumentem, quin forte et inſipientem, effecit, et ad hæc intentanda ſive capeſſenda coegit." His dictis, perniciori fugæ conſulens Willelmus, ipſe cum ſuis repoſcit tutiora. Propter quod ipſe Robertus, quaſi de gravi ſomno evigilans, efficacia verborum Wallace in tantum cor ejus invaſit, quod ultra non habuit conceptum favere Anglorum opinioni.

[p] Scotichronicon, Lib. XI., cap. xxxiv. Deſiderantur capitæ xxxii. et xxxiii. in MSS. noſtris.

[q] Falkirk, of which the Latin Varia Capella is a translation.

[r] The English Hiſtorians, in all probability, highly magnify the number of those who fell in this battle. To the passages usually quoted upon this subject may be added the following:—"Anno Domini m.cc.lxxxviiij. rex Edwardus in die Beatæ Mariæ Magdalenæ triumphant apud Faukirk, occisis de Scotis, circiter octoginta millia."—MS. Cott. Calig. A. xiii., fol. 6.

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Unde ſeipſo quotidie fortior effectus, conſervabat omnia verba hæc ab amico ſuo fideli prolata, conferens in corde ſuo. In quo prævaluit quod ſcribit Seneca dicens, "Habet hoc optimum generoſus animus, quod de facili concitatur ad honeſta. Neminem excelſi ingenii virum vilia delectant. Felix qui alterius conſultu ad meliora impetum animi dedit. Ponit ſe extra conditionem fortunæ; proſpera tentabit, adverſa comminuet, et alia admiranda deſpiciet."

Willelmo igitur Wallace cum ſuis ex acie dilapſis, proh dolor! utriuſque regni[s] ſuperbia et ardenti invidia, nobilis communitas Scotiæ per montes et colles, valles et planities, miſerabiliter jacuit proſtrata. Inter quos, de numero nobilium valentiſſimus miles Johannes[t] Seneſcallus cum ſuis Brandanis,[u] et Macduff comes de Fyfe cum ejuſdem incolis, penitus ſunt extincti.

Communiter autem dicitur, Robertum de Bruce, qui poſtea fuit rex Scotiæ, ſed tunc pro parte ſtetit regis Angliæ, per ſuam induſtriam huic victoriæ occaſionem præſtitiſſe. Cum enim Scoti in ſuis aciebus perſiſterent invicti, et nulla vi vel arte poterant penetrari, idem Robertus cum una acie, cui præerat Antonius de Bek,[v] unum montem longi itineris circumiens, ex adverſo poſt terga in Scotos irruit; et ſic illi, qui in parte anteriori impenetrabiles ſteterunt et invicti, a parte poſteriori callide ſunt ſuperati. Et eſt notandum, quod nunquam vel raro legitur ab Anglicis Scotos fuiſſe ſuperatos, niſi invidia procerum, vel fraude et deceptione indigenarum, ad aliam partem ſe tranſferentium.

Poſt prædictam ergo victoriam inimicis conceſſam per Scotigenarum proditionem, intelligens ſupradictus Willelmus Wallace, ex his et aliis probabilibus argumentis, prædictorum Comynenſium et ſuorum fautorum

[s] Vox *regni* a manu interpolatoris est, nec occurrit in editione Hearnii, ubi hæc superbia et invidia W. Wallace et Cominiis vitio dantur, quod de priore dissimulat Buchananus, ut etiam alii de recentioribus.

[t] Seuer, *edit. H.*, Senescalli, *MS. D. G. M.*

[u] Brandani, the inhabitants of the island of Bute.

[v] It is difficult to say how far this story may be true; but this much may be said in its favour, that Beck, bishop of Durham, would most probably have Bruce in his retinue, (admitting that he were present at the battle,) he being the possessor of considerable estates at Hartlepool, within the palatinate of that bishop.

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manifeſtam nequitiam, eligenſque magis ſubeſſe cum plebe, quam cum ejus ruina et gravi populi præeſſe diſpendio, non diu poſt bellum Variæ-Capellæ apud aquam de Forth, officium Cuſtodis ſponte reſignavit.[w] Poſt quem eodem anno a Scotigenis electus eſt Johannes Comyn, filius, Cuſtos Scotiæ; qui ſtetit in eodem officio uſque ad tempus quo idem Johannes venit ad pacem regis Angliæ, anno, ſcilicet, proximo poſt conflictum de Roſlyn; ſed infra idem tempus aſſociatus eſt ſibi Johannes de Sowlis per Johannem de Balliolo, tunc a carcere deliberatum et in terris de Balliolo commorantem, qui curam et regimen diu non tenuit. Sed, pro eo quod ſimplex et minus rigoroſus, aliquoties paſſus repulſam, deſpectui habebatur. Propter quod Scotiam relinquens feceſſit in Franciam, et ibi mortuus eſt.[x]

DE TREUGIS CONCESSIS COMMUNITATI SCOTIÆ, AD INSTANTIAM REGIS FRANCIÆ, ET DE NUNCIIS MISSIS ROMANÆ CURIÆ.[y]

Philippus rex Franciæ[z] miſit unum notabilem clericum, nomine Petrum de Mouncy, et valentem militem Johannem de Barroſe, nomine, ad Eadwardum regem Angliæ, pro treugis capiendis inter ipſum Eadwardum et acephalam communitatem Scotiæ. Ad cujus inſtantiam idem rex Angliæ

[w] *Al.* dereliquit. Officium Custodis sponte dereliquit post conflictum de Roslyn, ejus instructione commissum; quia, ut quidam volunt, promissionem fecit, se Scotiam non deserere, donec verisimiliter videret ipsam adhuc semel de inimicis triumphare. Post enim conflictum de Roslyn, Wallace, ascensa navi, Franciam petiit; ubi quanta probitate refulsit, tam super mare a piratis, quam in Francia ab Anglis perpessus est discrimina, et viriliter se habuit, nonnulla carmina, tam in ipsa Francia quam in Scotia, attestantur. Cum rege enim Franciæ Philippo digno habebatur honore, venerabatur præconio, et mulcebatur alloquio, ac ad secum commorandum pro perpetuo grandia promittebantur territoria, et, tam in pagis quam urbibus, prædia quamplurima ac dominia fuerant sibi concessa. Sed ipse solo paterno et naturali affectione ad modum Scotorum allectus, post ipsius a Scotia recessum, audiens ipsum regnum nimium suppeditari, supplicatione Scotorum de facili revocaretur, nisi rex Franciæ ipsum quasi invite retractaret. Nam ut Willelmus secum perhendinaret, Philippus rex Franciæ Eadwardo regi Angliæ suo fratri legali specialissime scripsit pro treugis inter ipsum et domum Scotiæ capiendis, ut infra dicitur: ne videlicet præsentiam Willelmi Wallace, quem tam tenerrime diligebat, vel ad tempus amitteret.—*Addunt MSS. Cup. et Per.*

[x] His Epitaph is given in L'Art de veref. les Dates, under the article which discusses his history as king of Scotland.

[y] Scotichronicon, Lib. XI., cap. xxxv.

[z] Ne careret præsentia Willelmi Wallace, *addunt iidem.*

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conceſſit treugas[a] pro regno Scotiæ a feſto Omnium Sanctorum anni ſupradicti, uſque ad Pentecoſten proximum ſequentem. Nec illas treugas concedere volebat ad inſtantiam regis Franciæ, tanquam aliquo facto confœderati ad regnum Scotiæ, ſed tanquam ipſius conſanguinei et ſoceri ſive fratris legalis,[b] cujus ſororem, Margaretam nomine, circa idem tempus affidavit, et anno ſequenti, id eſt, Domini milleſimo ducenteſimo nonageſimo nono, apud Cantuariam duxit in uxorem. Quo anno currebant Polardi et Crocardi in Anglia. Et interim ſolvit Clerus Angliæ decimam, ſecundum taxationem Norwigenſem,[c] in ſubſidium contra Scotos. Et ne treugas concederet pacto, ut præmittitur, confœderati, hoc prædictos nuncios, ante conceſſionem treugarum, fateri compellebat. Audito ergo a Cuſtodibus et Statibus regni Scotiæ, quomodo, non obſtantibus treugis, rex Angliæ impoſitione taxæ et decimatione cleri Angliæ, intendebat ex toto regnum Scotiæ ſubvertere, et ſuæ ditioni ſubmittere, dominus Johannes de Sowlis tanquam Cuſtodum primas, aſſiſtentibus ſibi comparibus et regni prælatis et baronibus, magiſtros Willelmum archidiaconum Laudoniæ, Baldredum Biſet, et Willelmum Egleſhame, procuratores et nuncios ſpeciales ad Bonifacium VIII., tunc Summum Pontificem, deſtinavit, ad inſinuandum et exponendum eidem varia et multiplicia incommoda regno Scotiæ per dictum regem Angliæ hoſtiliter illata, et ad impetrandum, contra ipſius moleſtias et gravamina, remedia opportuna, prout in commiſſione ipſorum nunciorum plenius continetur.[d] Qui ſic tacite ſe continentes, et de fortificatione jurium ſuorum, necnon rationibus et allegationibus ſe munientes, exſpectabant quoaduſque per tyrannidem dicti Eadwardi detinebantur incarcerati.

Anno Domini milleſimo trecenteſimo quarto, multi Scotorum nobiles et prælati, quorum quidem unum, dominum Willelmum Oliferd, militem, cuſtodem caſtri de Strivelyne, dum in poſſeſſione Scoti illud tenuerant,

[a] See Fœd. ii. 869.

[b] Et amicabilis compoſitoris utriusque partis, *addit Edit. H.*

[c] Rather "Norwicenſem," the Norwich Taxation of Eccleſiaſtical benefices.

[d] Cujus copia, cum Proceſſu ipſius Baldredi contra regem Angliæ, in quodam libello, ſcripto per Alanum de Montroſe, habetur, cum multis literis ad eandem litem pertinentibus, *addit Editio H.* The Proceſſus of Baldred Biſset is well known, but the work of Alan of Montroſe has not come down to us. Concerning the former, see Tanner's Bibl. p. 102; and Fordun's Scotich. Lib. XI., cap. xxxvi.–lxiii.

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ipſe rex Eadwardus manu valida, per non modicum tempus obſeſſum cepit, contra fidem ſibi promiſſam, Londoniis carceri, cum Roberto et Mauritio Glaſguenſi et Sodorenſi, id eſt Manniæ, epiſcopis, crudeliter mancipavit.

QUOMODO JOHANNES COMYN ET SIMON FRASER VIRILITER SE HABUERUNT.[e]

Anno Domini milleſimo trecenteſimo, conqueſti ſunt, ut præmittitur, proceres regni Scotorum domino noſtro Papæ, ſuper intolerabili gravamine illato eis per regem Angliæ; et in anno ſequenti citatus, nec comparuit per ſe, vel idoneos procuratores; ſed omnibus ſuis prætenſis et rationibus Baldredus, cum ſociis procuratoribus Scotiæ, luculento ſermone breviter, ut præmittitur, reſpondit; ipſas omni veritate fore nudatas probabilibus argumentis et præclaris evidentiis manifeſte demonſtravit, ut in ſuo patet Proceſſu.

Hoc in anno municipium de Linlithgw, quod Anglice "Pele" vocatur, per regem Angliæ conſtructum eſt.

Cuſtodes igitur Scotiæ audientes quod rex Angliæ ſuccubuit in Romana Curia, multum perinde hilares effecti, audaciam aliqualem plus ſolito conceperunt; virtute cujus habitus eſt congreſſus magnus et manifeſtus inter Scotos et Anglos apud Roſline, ubi Anglici ſunt devicti, licet cum magna difficultate.[f] Nam a principio primæ guerræ inter Scotos et Anglicos motæ, tam ſtrenuus non recitatur fuiſſe conflictus, in quo ſic claruit ſtrenuitas Scotorum potentiæ militaris. Hujus eventus bellici rector et dux fuit Johannes Comyn, filius. Cujus quidem conflictus talis cauſa et modus exſtiterat.

Poſt bellum commiſſum apud Variam-Capellam, rex Angliæ citra aquam de Forth perſonaliter non venit pro tunc; ſed miſit potentiam ſatis magnam, quæ totam terram de Fife, cum omnibus terris prope jacentibus villæ de Perth, interfectis pluribus ipſarum terrarum habitatoribus, deprædavit; qua reverſa[g] cum prædis innumeris, idem rex cum ſuo exercitu ad pro-

[e] Scotichronicon, Lib. XII., cap. i.

[f] Ter uno die sunt devicti. *MSS. Cupr. et Perth.*

[g] Qua potentia reversa. *MS. D. G. M.*

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pria remeavit. Quod, Deo procurante, factum esse non ambigitur; nam si tunc, vel post bellum de Dumbar et captionem regis Johannis, moram pertraxisset, totam terram Scotiæ cum habitatoribus aut subjugasset imperio, aut eam, præter aquas et lapides, ut creditur, vastatam reddidisset. Sed pietas Dei,[h] qui solus post vulnera curat et medetur, ita actus et tempora ipsius regis moderavit, ut, turbatus erga plurima, et diversis guerris intentus, circa hujus regni subjectionem, ceteris curis postpositis, non potuit indulgere. Redeunte igitur cum suis illo rege Angliæ, sed prius statutis ministris vicecomitatuum, et custodibus castrorum[i] in partibus ultra aquam de Forth, quæ plenarie et integre suo tunc subjacebant imperio,[k] exceptis paucis exsulibus,[l] de natione verorum Scotorum, in silvis latitantibus, qui, propter cædes et damna Anglicis et Anglicatis Scotis illata, aperte apparere non poterant; Johannes Comyn, Custos tunc Scotiæ præcipuus, et Simon Fraser, miles bellicosissimus, omni probitate præditus, cum eorum sequacibus, antedicti regis ballivis et ministris die noctuque, pro suis viribus, satis molesti erant et importuni, Anglicos et Scotos Anglicatos, a tempore recessus prædicti regis, per quatuor annos et ultra, per mutuas cædes et flagella, secundum varios guerrarum eventus, multipliciter affligentes.

DE CONFLICTU DE ROSLINE, UBI TURMATIM ANGLICI UNO DIE TER VICTI SUNT.[m]

Quod cum nunciatum fuisset regi Angliæ, quendam magnanimem virum, Radulphum Comfrey[n] nomine, nobilem valde, armis strenuum, consilio et sapientia peritum, cum magno exercitu[o] electorum equitum

[h] Et interventioni Sancti Andreæ apostoli, protectoris regni, *hic addunt MSS. Cup. et Perth., interpolatione haud ferenda.*

[i] The arrangements which Edward made respecting these points may be gathered from the extracts from his Librate Rolls, preserved in the Tower of London, which will be found in Appendix of Illustrative Documents.

[k] *Al.* dominio.

[l] Exulibus vel etiam prædonibus, de natione Scotorum, in silvis latitantibus, qui propter sua facinora, juri parere non poterant, *Edit. Hearn.*

[m] Scotichronicon, Lib. XII., cap. ii.

[n] A singular mistake for "Ralph the Cofferer," that is, the Treasurer.

[o] Cum certa summa *pro* magno exercitu, *Edit. H.*

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optime armatorum, ut moleſtatores et ſuæ pacis perturbatores, etiam in locis ſtrictiſſimis, perquirentes, ſupremo non deſiſteret punire ſupplicio. Intrantes igitur Scotiam, circumierunt terram, perambulantes eam, et apud Roſlyne per tres acies diviſi, ſua ſeparatim fixerunt tentoria, propter arctam et anguſtam hoſpitandi inopiam. Cognito namque eorum adventu, Johannes Comyn et Simon Fraſer, cum eorum ſequacibus, paucis admodum reſpectu inimicorum, prævenire quam præveniri magis deſiderantes, de Bigar uſque ad Roſline, per milliaria ferme ſedecim, ſub unius noctis ſpatio alacriter percurrentes, cum viris electis, qui mori prius quam Anglicanæ nationi ſubjici indigne potius elegerunt, in hoſtes intrepidi repente irruerunt. Sed paulo ante, per vigiles excitati, aſſumtis armis, omnes primæ aciei irruentibus viriliter hoſtibus reſtiterunt. Tandem tamen illis ſuperatis, captis partim et partim occiſis, partim etiam ad ceteras acies fugientibus, confeſtim Scotis ſpolia dividentibus, apparuit acies altera, potior priore, ad bella parata. Qua viſa, Scoti mente conſternati, per duces tamen exhortatione ſummaria animati, captivis occiſis, et de occiſorum ſpoliis clientulis armatis, remotis equis invalidis et fortioribus aſcenſis, animis intrepidi ad pugnam alacrius properarunt. Hoſtibus, licet difficulter, tandem ſuperatis, cum totum ſe Scoti feciſſe credidiſſent, apparuit tertia acies Scotis numeroſior, prioribus potentior, et armis elegantior. Ex cujus viſione Scoti ſtupefacti, et, tum pro fatigatione itineris et vigiliarum, necnon et cibi defectu multipliciter laſſati, tum pro continuis pugnandi laboribus calefacti, amotis caſſidibus, ad exponendum ſe ventis ſecedentes, tum pro ictuum tunſionibus et vulnerum vehementer afflicti, tædere cœperunt, et ultra quam credi poteſt, animo pavere ac fugam capere ſe paraverunt. Inter has perplexitates populum timore conſtrictum antedicti duces Johannes et Simon animis imperterriti inanimantes, ſimul cum armis officium ſuſcipiunt prædicatorum. Multum enim valet bellaturis ſtrenui ducis exhortatio læta. Sicut narrat Sextus Julius, Stratagematum libro primo, "Quod Cyrus, rex Perſarum, volens animos popularium concitare ad bellum contra Medos, tali uſus eſt cautela; duxit exercitum ad quandam ſilvam, ubi populum tota die in laboribus maximis occupavit in ſilva illa ſuccidenda. In craſtino, die ſcilicet præcedenti bellum, epulas lautiſſimas præparari, et exercitum cum

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gaudio et tripudio fecit convivari. Et circumiens per turmas, interrogavit, quis illorum dierum magis eis placeret? Reſponderunt, quod dies ſecundus plus placuit eis quam primus dies. Quibus ille ſubjunxit; Sicut per laborem heſternum ad hodiernum perveniſtis convivium, ſic felices beatique eſſe non poteſtis, niſi prius Medos viceritis." Sic et noſtri novi prædicatores Johannes et Simon populum verbis conſolantes, promiſſis exhilarantes, necnon libertatis generoſitatem, ſubjectionis vilitatem et anteceſſorum ſuorum indefeſſos labores pro patriæ liberatione voluntarie aſſumtos, ad memoriam reducentes, monitis ſalubrioribus ad pugnam animabant. His et aliis hujuſmodi vehementer confortati, depoſita omni vecordia, reſumtis viribus et captivis occiſis, ex eorum equis et armis, quaſi denuo renovati, cum ſuis clientulis de prioribus armatis ſpoliis, ſpem ſuam in Domino ponentes, ad pugnam ferociſſimi et alacres proceſſerunt. Quorum congreſſus tam ingens erat et ferox, ut multi, armis perforatis, vita privarentur. Nonnulli etiam utriuſque exercitus, poſt dira lancearum vulnera, ſæva flagella, et clavarum ictus duriſſimos, numero centeni quadrageni et vicini alternis vicibus, pro laſſitudine hinc inde pugnæ diuturnæ confuſi, ad montes et colles et alia apta loca ſe retraherent; ut, ventis expoſiti, amotis galeis, et equis vulneratis, et ex aere refrigerati, aliis recentioribus aſcenſis, contra inimicorum inſultus non vi humana, ſed virtute Divina, ſubjectis hoſtibus. Scoti, qui reſpectu partis adverſæ numero erant pauciſſima, velut ſi pugillus frumenti multitudine maris arenæ coæqueretur, felici et jucunda, laus Deo, potiti ſunt victoria.

Reperi in quadam chronica, quod Anglici erant bellatores numerati triginta millia; Scoti vix octo millia. De quo dictum eſt;

Anno milleno trecentenoque ſecundo,
Luceſcente die, feſtum recolente Matthiæ
In Roſline campo nova gratia luxit ab alto,
Nempe Johanne duce Scotorum Cominienſe
Anglis confuſis, ceſſit victoria Scotis.

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QUOMODO REX ANGLIÆ, PERAGRATIS PLANIS ET MONTANIS SCOTIÆ, RECEPIT COMMUNITATEM AD PACEM EJUS, ET OMNES FERE MAGNATES.[P]

Anno Domini milleſimo trecenteſimo tertio, rex Angliæ, cum potentia magna nimis, Angliæ videlicet, Walliæ et Hiberniæ, Vaſconiæ et Sabaudiæ, cujus Comes perſonaliter ſecum fuit, et etiam princeps Walliæ, tam per mare quam per terram, in præmiſſarum moleſtiarum vindictam, Scotiam hoſtiliter intravit, cum deliberato conſilio ad eam tunc cum ſuis plane et perpetue habitandam, ſibique plenarie et finaliter ſubjugandam; vel ipſius incolis penitus dèletis, terram ipſam in extremam et irrecuperabilem vaſtitatem redigendam. Peragratis igitur tam montanis quam planis, tam ultra montes quam citra, in propria perſona ad Lochindorb pervenit, et ibidem aliquamdiu moram faciens, partes boreales ad pacem recepit; qui, in caſtris et villis firmatis univerſis ſibi redditis, ſuos ordinavit miniſtros. Et inde pedetentim rediens, univerſas communitates ad pacem capiens, ſimul cum municipiis et caſtellis per terras quas luſtravit, nullo reſiſtente vel vim inferente, poſt multos circuitus terrarum ad Dumfermelyn pervenit; ubi per longum tempus moram trahens, ibidem hiemavit uſque ad feſtum Purificationis noſtræ Dominæ. Quo in anno Eadwardus de Carnarvan filius ſuus, princeps dictus Walliæ, in villa de Perth moram traxit; ubi per totum tempus prædictum tanta erat copia victualium, ut lagena boni vini menſuræ Scoticanæ pro quatuor denariis communiter venderetur. Eodem etiam anno, poſtquam tota communitas Scotiæ ad pacem regis Angliæ eſt recepta, Johannes Comyn tunc ſuperior Cuſtos, et omnes magnates, præter Willelmum Wallace et ſuos ſequaces, ſucceſſive et paullatim ad pacem ipſius venerunt, redditis caſtris et villis ſuis univerſis, præter caſtrum de Strivelyn, cum ejuſdem cuſtode. Timuit enim vehementer prædictus nobilis Willelmus fraudem ſuorum compatriotarum; quorum quidam ſibi, ob ipſius probitatem, invidentes, alii promiſſis Anglicorum allecti, alii favorem propterea regis Angliæ circumauſpicantes, flexuoſis amfractibus ſæpius et ſubtiliter ſibi inſidias paraverunt.

[P] Scotichronicon, Lib. XII., cap. iii.

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Perſuaſum inſuper erat ei a ſuis familiaribus et intimis amicis, ut et ipſe, ſicut et ceteri, regi Anglorum obediret, quatenus ipſi ſic ſaltem pace potirentur. Alii inſuper ab ipſo rege erant ſibi miſſi, ad inducendum eum ad hoc, promittentes ſibi, ex parte ejuſdem regis, comitatus et amplas poſſeſſiones in Anglia, vel in Scotia, per ſe eligendas, et ſucceſſoribus ſuis perpetue poſſidendas. Quibus omnibus ſpretis, tanquam alter Mattathias, pro libertate ſuæ gentis, ſic eum ferunt reſpondiſſe, "O deſolata Scotia! nimium verbis fallacibus credula! calamitatum venturarum ſatis improviſa! ſi ſentires mecum, collum tuum ſub jugo de facili non poneres alieno. Cum autem ego," inquit, "adolerem, a patruo meo preſbytero hoc unicum proverbium, cunctis opibus præponendum, didici et ſemper in mente notavi, videlicet,

'Dico tibi verum, libertas optima rerum,
Nunquam ſervili ſub nexu vivito, fili.'

"Et ideo breviter dico, quod ſi omnes Scotigenæ regi Angliæ obediant, vel diſcedat unuſquiſque a libertate ſua, ego et conſodales mei, mihi in hac parte adhærere volentes, ſtabimus pro libertate regni; et, niſi regi vel locumtenenti ejus, propitius ſit nobis Deus, alii non obediemus."

Eodem anno, idem rex Angliæ apud Sanctam Andream quadrageſimavit; ubi, convocatis omnibus regni majoribus, ſuum tenuit parliamentum; et pro ſtatu regni ſibi et ſuis ſucceſſoribus, ut credebat, imperpetuum acquiſiti et adepti, ſimul de ipſius incolis, prout voluit, ordinavit.

QUOMODO REX OBSESSIT CASTRUM DE STRIVELYN, ET DE INITIIS ROBERTI DE BRUCE.[q]

Statim poſt Paſcha, ſcilicet, anno Domini m.cccIV., idem rex per tres menſes continuos caſtrum de Strivelyn obſeſſit; ad cujus machinas conſtruendas totum plumbum monaſterii Sancti Andreæ deponi mandavit, et ad Strivelyn juſſit deportari. Tandem autem caſtrum prædictum, ſub certa conditione in ſcriptis redacta et ſuo ſigillo confirmata, ſibi red-

[q] Scotichronicon, Lib. XII., cap. iv.

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ditur et confirmatur. Sed ipſe rex, obtento caſtro, fide mentita et conditione violata, Willelmum de Oliferd, inſignem militem, cuſtodem ipſius, vinctum Londoniis carceri mancipavit, et per multa tempora tenuit mancipatum.

Eodem anno, receptis ad pacem tam majoribus quam minoribus regni Scotiæ, excepto Willelmo Wallace ſolo, redditis ſibi caſtris et villis firmatis univerſis a Weyk in Cathenefia uſque Mullerſnook in Galweya, reædificatis etiam prius dirutis et deſtructis, ſuiſque cuſtodibus ibidem conſtitutis; poſt juramenta fidelitatis et homagia præſtita ab omnibus et ſingulis Scotigenæ nationis, reverſus idem rex, cum principe Walliæ Eadwardo filio ſuo et univerſo ſuo exercitu, in Angliam, relicto tamen uno principali cuſtode, ſuum locum tenente; ſcilicet, Odomaro de Valance, ad reformandos et corrigendos exceſſus ceterorum omnium, tam Scotorum quam Anglicorum; et poſt hæc in Scotia non comparuit. Poſt cujus receſſum, principante Anglicana natione in univerſis partibus regni Scotiæ, atque Scotos multifariis multiſque modis injuriis, flagellis et cædibus, ſub diræ jugo ſervitutis crudeliter affligente, miſericors Deus Scotorum miſeriis continuis clamoribus compaſſus et doloribus, ſolito more paternæ pietatis ſuſcitavit eis ſalvatorem et propugnatorem, unum ſcilicet de ſuis confratribus, nomine Robertum de Bruce; qui eos in lacu miſeriæ proſtratos, et omni ſpe ſalutis et auxilii totaliter deſtitutos videns, et dolore cordis tactus intrinſecus, tanquam alter Machabæus manum mittens ad fortia, pro fratribus liberandis, innumeros et importabiles diei æſtus, frigoris et famis in terra et in mari ſubiit labores, non inimicorum tantum, ſed etiam falſorum fratrum inſidias et tædia, inedias et pericula, lætanter amplectendo. Benedictus igitur Deus, qui poſt nubilum dat ſerenum. Nam Scotis quaſi in deſperatione et extrema calamitate tunc conſtitutis, fertur de Anglia quendam ſanctum heremitam hanc ſcripturam conſolatoriam emiſiſſe;

Crede, licet ſera, veterum præſagia vera;
  In bonitati Dei ſit tibi cura ſpei.
Nam quæ tot pateris, quæ jam captiva videris,
  Tandem ſolveris. Imperialis eris.

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Defuper eveniet virtus tibi, Scotia; fiet
Ultima profperior quam tua vita prior.
Promittunt veteres quod erit tibi belliger heres,
Qui fua jura novans, regna fudabat ovans.
Stragibus immenfis fudabit Scoticus enfis;
Rex perdet cuneos ultor ubique reos.
Corruet Angligena per eum gens, non fine pœna,
Enfe, fiti, fletu, pefti, timore, metu.
Hoftibus afflictis, ftratis, per prœlia victis,
Scotia, tuque tui plaudite pace frui.

DE CONFŒDERATIONE BRUCE ET COMYN, ET ACCUSATIONE BRUCE REGI ANGLIÆ PER COMYN.[r]

Hic etenim Robertus de Bruce, comes de Carrick, anno Domini m.ccciv. una dierum a Strivilenfi oppido, concomitante fecum quodam majore natu regni, Johanne le Red Comyn, ut quod pro reipublicæ commodo læto fufcepit animo, efficaciter opere compleret; ad ipfum Johannem fibi fratrem in armis, genere et potentia tunc regni opimiorem, indigne patriæ fubjectionem crudelem, et indefinentem populi vexationem, atque fuæ piæ mentis conceptum circa ipfius elevationem, infinuans, fideliter equitando exponens, humiliter acceffit. Et quamvis de jure, fecundum confuetudines et leges patriæ, honor et fucceffio regiæ dignitatis et regni regiminis ad ipfum, præ ceteris nofcatur pertinere, utilitatem tamen communem præferens privatæ, eidem Johanni, ut unum e duobus eligeret, pura et fincera obtulit voluntate, aut regnare et regni regimen ex toto cum fuis pertinentiis et regiis honoribus fibi imperpetuum affumere, conceffis eidem Roberto fuis terris et poffeffionibus univerfis; aut terras ipfius Roberti et poffeffiones univerfas fibi ipfi Johanni et fuis, jure perpetuo, poffidere, relicto ipfi Roberto regno et regis honore; ut fic, per eorum mutua confilia pariter et auxilia, de domo fervitutis et indignæ fubjectionis matura fieret liberatio Scoticæ nationi, et inter eos indiffolubilis amicitiæ et pacis perpetuæ fœdera permanerent. Cumque alterum prædictorum ipfi Johanni fumme, ut apparuit, placuiffet, et fuper

[r] Scotichronicon, Lib. XII., cap. v.

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hoc conventio hinc inde facta, ac fide media, interpofitis juramentis, per fuas indenturas, cum appofitione figillorum eorundem, fuiffet roberata, ipfe Johannes, fide, ut dicitur, violata, et juramenti religione neglecta, eundem Robertum apud regem Angliæ per fuos internuncios et literas privatas, ipfius Roberti fecreta nequiter revelando, fæpius accufavit, putans quod, Roberto Bruce de medio fublato, ipfe poffet totius Scotiæ ducatum, fine difficultate, permiffione regis Angliæ obtinere.

Perpendens igitur fpiritus nequitiæ per dictum Robertum multa bona regno Scotiæ provenire, et ut in conatibus fuis fubtiliter fruftraretur, fe ftudio propenfiore ad omnia malitiæ machinamenta circumtulit. Novit equidem quod cupiditas radix eft omnium malorum, mater tranfgreffionis, magiftra nocendi, primipilaria iniquitatis, auriga malitiæ, ficaria virtutum, feditionis origo, honeftatis noverca, fomes odii, incentivum litis, et fovea fcandalorum; ea etiam fæpe, quafi inftrumento ufus eft, ut odia feminaret, turbaret amicitias, fœdera rumperet, homicidia procuraret, incenderet urbes, regna tranfferret, reges a foliis populofque a fuis finibus exturbaret; in jam dictum Johannem le Red Comyn tantum cupiditatis ardorem, tantam tamque damnabilem vehementiam ambitionis immifit, ut, rupto fœdere, irrito juramento, fuum fidelem focium, nil mali fufpicantem, proditionis machinamento cogitaret appetere, ut, eo fubtilius per tyrannidem regis Angliæ interemto, in labores illius introiret, ipfiufque regnum, fibi et non alteri de jure debitum, poffideret. Ecce alter Naboth, cujus occifio procuratur ut vineam ejus iniquus obtineat, et dicatur a domino poffeffori, "Occidifti infuper et poffidifti!" Non fic, impie, non fic; fed in quem tetendifti laqueum cecedifti; quia nihil proficiet inimicus in eo, et filius iniquitatis non apponet nocere Roberto. Quid multis morer? Quamvis fuper confpiratione idem Robertus, fuggeftionibus dicti Johannis, per præmiffum regem Angliæ pluries fuerat examinatus, oftenfis fibi literis fui adverfarii ipfum acriter accufantis, tale femper, Deo infpirante, reddidit refponfum, ut regis infaniam jucunda loquela et verbis peritis, utpote non fuit fuiipfius figillifer, crebrius mitigaret; tum apud eundem regem, qui multis verfutiis præditus fuit fimul et aftutiis, et fictam amicitiam optime noverat fimulare, plurimum tamen per accufationes ipfius Johannis, tum quia verus effet regni Scotiæ heres,

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ſuſpectus habebatur. Et ideo in curia ſua juſſus eſt continue reſidere, propter cauſas ſuſpicionis prædictæ; mortem enim ſibi, vel ſaltem perpetuos carceres, hac potiſſima ratione, diſtulit inferre, donec ceteros ipſius Roberti fratres, uno die congregatos, ſimul cum eo ſupremo puniret ſupplicio.

Hoc anno deputati ſunt juſticiarii de Trailbaſton[s] per Angliam.

DE ACCUSATIONE ET EVASIONE EJUS.[t]

Crebreſcente vero antedicti Johannis accuſatione, tandem una nocte, cum merum ſplenderet in calice, et cubatum rex Angliæ cum ejus ſecretioribus cubicularibus properaret; de morte ipſius Roberti anxius pertractavit, et, quod in die craſtino eum vita privaret, breviter diffinivit. Quod cum comes Gloverniæ, ipſius Roberti verus amicus et neceſſitate probatus, audiſſet, cum ſuo garderopario eadem nocte[u] duodecim denarios et unum par calcarium prædicto Roberto miſit feſtinanter. Qui, juſſa domini ſui perficiens, prædicta venia Roberto Bruce præſentavit, atque ſubjunxit dicens, "Hæc mandat vobis dominus meus, reddens quæ heſterno die ex mutuo a vobis accepit." Qui etiam, per oblata pignora imminens mortis periculum caute conjiciens, datis garderopario denariis, eum ad comitem, cum reſolutatione et gratiarum actione, protinus remiſit; qui ſtatim, accito ſuæ domus præpoſito, præcepit ut ea nocte ſuis hominibus bonum vultum faceret, et vino cum eis non parceret, quia ipſe in camera cum ſuo ſecretario ardua eſſet tractaturus. Contigit quod in crepuſculo nix immanis deſcenderat, et totam terræ ſuperficiem cooperuerat. Unde vocavit quendam fabrum, et in ſtabulo, nemine ſciente præter fabrum, ſtabularium et ſecretarium, fecit amovere omnia ferramenta trium ſuorum optimorum equorum, et retrograde affigi ungulis caballorum. Quibus clanculo aſcenſis, iter verſus Scotiam cum ſecretario et ſtabulario arripuit properanter, die et nocte non ceſſans a labore, donec a prædicti regis furiis immunis reddetur, Ipſo ducente[v] de quo ſcriptum eſt, "Non eſt ſa-

[s] The commission for Trailbaston may be seen in the Fœdera, ii. 960.

[t] Scotichronicon, Lib. XII., cap. vi.

[u] *Eodem sero* pro *eadem nocte*. MSS. Coll. Edinb. Cupr. et Perth.

[v] *Ipso præduce*. MSS. Coll. Ed. Cupr. et Perth.

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pientia, non eſt prudentia, non eſt conſilium contra Dominum, qui novit pios de temtatione eripere, et in ſe ſperantes a periculis miſericorditer liberare."

Alibi reperi quod Johannes Red Comyn primus fuit qui perſuaſit dicto Roberto Bruce aſſumere ſibi regnum, lamentabiliter conquerendo dicens, "Ecce, iſti Angli occidunt gentes noſtras abſque occaſione, et regnum noſtrum detinent ſine ratione! Confortare ergo et eſto robuſtus; amicos tuos conſule, et arma capeſce, conceſſiſque mihi tuis poſſeſſionibus, me auxiliante, corona potieres. Sin autem, omnes terræ meæ tuæ ſint. Intende et exſurge in adjutorium mihi, ut vel ſic ego præſim, et eris mihi ſecundus in regno, omniaque ad nutum tuum tractabantur." Hujuſmodi blæſis ſermonibus dominus de Bruce allectus, placuit ſuæ voluntati alterutro præbere aſſenſum. Cui et dixit; "Regratior, conſanguinee, tuæ conſiliatrici oblationi, et dum dictis facta compenſes faciam quod hortaris. Mihi enim attinet pondus regiminis, quia ſcio me ad hoc juſtitiam habiturum: et, ut dicitur, invalidum juſtitia plerumque efficit robuſtum. Talem reputabo juſtitiam meam, qua, per Dei gratiam, nil alienum vendicabitur, et cuique quod ſuum eſt dabitur; qua utique negligam propriam utilitatem, ut communem conſervem æquitatem." Iſtis ſic concordatis, et hinc inde juramento vallatis, eadem nocte ſcriptæ ſunt indenturæ, ſigilliſque utriuſque validatæ. Et poſt paucos dies acceſſit dominus Johannes Comyn ad regem Angliæ, cui revelavit conventionem. In cujus rei teſtimonium dedit regi indenturam. Qui, propterea nimium commotus, parliamentum ſtatuit; ad quod cum ceteris proceribus Robertus Bruce eſt citatus, nihil proditionis le Comyn præmeditatus. Comparenti dicto Roberto de Bruce rex tradidit indenturam ſuo ſigillo ſigillatum, quærens ſi ipſe ipſam indenturam cognoſceret, vel ſigillum ſibi ipſi apponeret. Cui Robertus; "Inducias uſque craſtinum peto, ut cum indentura aviſari potero, et die craſtino, in pleno parliamento, ipſam illæſam repræſentabo; et ad hoc perficiendum totas terras, quas de vobis teneo, in vadium applegio." Rex de hoc credidit ſe ſecurum, donec in craſtino percepit ſe deluſum. Tunc clamor attollitur, quod ſic evaſit traditor. Plerique etiam admirantur, eo quod exploratum eſt in nive veſtigia equorum acceſſiſſe ad ſtabulum, ſed nullorum abhinc receſſiſſe.

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DE OCCISIONE DOMINI JOHANNIS COMYN PER ROBERTUM DE BRUCE.[v]

Tam feſtinanter, ut ſcriptum reperi, dominus Robertus Bruce greſſus maturavit, quod ſeptimo die ab incepto Londoniis itinere ad Lochmaban pervenit; ibique invenit fratrem ſuum Eadwardum, qui de ſuo adventu, tam ſubito quam privato, multum mirabatur. Cui ipſe ex ordine, narravit quam proditorie fuerat accuſatus apud regem Angliæ, et quomodo evaſit manus ejus in nomine Domini. Cumque eodem die ante adventum dicti Roberti ad Lochmaban confinibus Marchiarum appropinquaret, quendam ſibi obvium pedeſtrem habebat; quem aſpiciens a longe, tam inceſſu quam habitu ipſum fore Scotum ſuſpicatus eſt. Quem licet declinantem apprehendens interrogat, quo pergeret, et unde veniret. Et cum multiplicaret excuſationes in peccatis, ex præcepto ipſius Roberti ſui clientuli ſecreta occurrentis nuncii rimantur. Literæ miſſivæ ſigillo dicti Johannis Red Comyn ad regem Angliæ, de ſecuritate incarcerationis ſive retentionis ipſius Roberti, ſive celeriore occiſione ejuſdem, quam maxima et periculoſa circumſtantia cauſante, directæ protinus inveniuntur et auferuntur. Caput nuncio præciditur, et Deus, pro directione proſperi itineris, plurimum collaudatur. Illo quippe tempore dominus Johannes Red Comyn apud Dumfres perhendinavit. Cui, ad peregrinam ſatis remunerationem inferendam, Bruce ſe feſtinavit. Quem quidem Johannem in choro Fratrum de Dumfres, coram magno altari, Robertus deprehendit; cui ſalutatione fermentata, et de ſubjecta materia aliquantiſper prælocutis, literæ miſſivæ ejuſdem Johannis oſtenduntur, et ſuper proditione et fide ejus mentita idem Johannes impetitur. Sed mox "mentiris" reſpondetur. Maledicenti in eadem eccleſia lethale vulnus infligitur, et vulneratus per dictum dominum Robertum, per manus Fratrum retro altare tranſportatur. Quod cum factum fuiſſet, Robertus Bruce, tanquam homo impatiens et extra ſe poſitus, ad introitum cœmeterii equos expetivit. Cui occurrit conſanguineus ſuus dominus Jacobus de Lindeſay, una cum Gilpatrick de Kirkpatrick, qui in ejus ſubſidium, ut apud Lochmaban præordinatum fuit, cucurrerunt, et attendentes ipſum

[v] Scotichronicon, Lib. XII., cap. vii.

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Robertum exſanguem, et quaſi extra ſe poſitum, interrogaverunt quomodo penes ſe actum ſit. "Male," inquit, "quia Johannem le Red Comyn, ut æſtimo, interfeci." "Debet," inquit Jacobus de Lindeſay, "tam arduum præſumtum revocari in dubium?" et ipſe cum Gilpatrick reveſtiarium intrantes, ſi vivere poſſet interrogatur; ab ipſo Johanne, "Si medicum haberem, poſſum," protinus reſpondetur. Ab interrogantibus ſecundum vulnus infligitur. Ubi etiam dominus Robertus Comyn miles, in defenſione conſanguinei ſui domini Johannis Comyn, cum eo vulneratus occubuit. Et ſic anno Domini MCCCV., iv. idus Februarii, ab hac luce ſubtrahuntur; et rex Angliæ Eadwardus a ſuo deſiderio, non minus mirifice quam miraculoſe, ut creditur, fruſtratur. Nocte ſequenti funere in feretro collocato, et conventu Fratrum hinc inde in choro conſtituto, ac pſalterium et orationes repetente pro defuncto, paulo ante gallorum canticinium fallax ſomnus omnes Fratres irrepſerat, excepto quodam antiquiore et emerito patre, ceteris ſedulius evigilante, qui generalem abſolutionem animarum devote commemorans, audivit ſubito vocem tanquam vagientis parvuli penetrantius exclamantis, "Uſquoquo Domine vindictam differes?" Continuo ab alio admirabili et incognita voce reſponſum audivit, "Quod petis patienter præſtolare, et hoc die anniverſario, anno quinquageſimo ſecundo intentum aſſequeris."

De hac internetione dicti Johannis habentur hæc metra,

Anno milleno trecenteno quoque quinto,
Sancta tulit mœſtum Scotis Scholaſtica feſtum;
Nam mors Johannis in Dumfres Cominienſis
Multos dejecit, et corda ſtupentia fecit;
Cauſa ſuæ mortis vetus eſt diſcordia fortis.
Hinc Scoti diſcant diſcordes, ut reſipiſcant,
Ut ſint uniti, vel erunt certamine triti.

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DE PRODITIONE JOHANNIS DE MENTETH, MORTE WILLELMI WALLACE, ET TYRANNIDE REGIS EADWARDI.[x]

Hoc eodem anno nobilis Willelmus Wallace per dominum Johannem de Menteth apud Glafgw, nil mali fufpicans, fraudulenter et proditionaliter capitur, regi Angliæ traditur, Londoniis demembratur, et ejus membra per diverfa famofiora loca Angliæ et Scotiæ, in opprobrium Scotorum, turribus fufpenduntur. In hoc ifte tyrannus Eadwardus Angliæ putabat famam nobilis Willelmi delere in perpetuum, eo quod vifus fit oculis infipientium tam vili morte terminari. Nec enim obfuit fibi talis mors, quia fic fcriptum eft;

Mors jufti rapida, quam præceffit bona vita,
Non minuit merita, fi moriatur ita.

Perpendo enim per hos tres viros, Eadwardum fcilicet tyrannum, Johannem Menteth proditorem, et Willelmum Wallace innocentem, tria genera hominum, diverfimode circa fuam famam et nominis celebrationem in hoc feculo fe difponentium:

Quidam enim nomen fuum
Ambitiofe magnificant ad oftentationem, ficut Eadwardus tyrannus,
Scandalofe vilificant in deteftationem, ficut dictus Johannes de Menteth,
Virtuofe dignificant ad ædificationem, ficut Willelmus Wallace.

Primi nomen fuum et famam appretiantur, fecundi nomen fuum negligenter afpernantur, tertii nomen fuum convenienter venerantur. Primi funt homines vani et mundani, qui nihil aliud in fuis operibus appetunt nec intendunt, nifi quod fint magni nominis et famofæ opinionis apud homines. Et ifti fcribunt nomina fua in cineribus, hoc eft in vanis memoriis hominum, qui non funt nifi terra et cinis. Contra tales qui fic nimis appretiantur, tanquam famæ gloriam et nominis celebritatem, arguit

[x] Scotichronicon, Lib. XII., cap. viii.

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Boetius de Conſolatione, Lib. II. proſa vii., declarans pulchre famæ vanitatem per quinque rationes. Vide ibi. De talibus ait poeta;

> Nomen habes ſine re, ſine nomine rem tibi quære;
> Si re privaveris, non nomen habere mereris.

Secundo ſunt aliqui, qui nomen ſuum ſcandaloſe vilificant, cujuſmodi ſunt iſti proditores et ſubtiles tergiverſatores. Tales multum ſcandalizant proximos, præbentes ſimplicioribus occaſionem proditionis et ruinæ eorum abominandiſſimo exemplo. Nunc in tantum proditiones pullulant, ut, quod dolenter referendum eſt, etiam magnates non ſe abſcondunt a calore ejus. Juramenta irritant, ſcripta ſigillata diverſificant, aſſecurantias et treugas non ſervant. "Malo," inquit Seneca, "mihi ſucceſſum deeſſe quam fidem, quæ etiam hoſti ſervanda eſt; nam qui fidem perdit, nil poteſt ultra perdere." "Tales," ut ait Jacobus in Canonica, "blaſphemant nomen bonum quod invocatum eſt ſuper nos;" iſtud eſt nomen Chriſti. Non ergo ſe profitetur bonum Chriſtianum qui alterius traditor eſt, ſed Judæ Iſcarioti imitator eſt.

Tertio, ſunt aliqui, qui nomen ſuum virtuoſe dignificant, qualis fuit Willelmus Wallace. Willelmus interpretatur "vir almus." Wallace "ſine væ." Fuit, inquam, vir almus, quod probatum eſt poſt ipſius mortem, cum ipſi plerique Anglici veridici teſtantur, quod quidam in ipſa Anglia ſanctus heremita, raptus in ſpiritu, vidit quaſi innumeras animas de pœnis Purgatorii liberatas, quaſi præſtolantes aditum regni cœleſtis, quoaduſque per miniſterium Angelorum, maximo cum honore, introducta fuit et præmiſſa anima ipſius Willelmi Wallace, pro fidelitate et patria ſua uſque ad mortem legitime decertantis; qui nunquam Anglis ſe ſubmiſit, vel homagium præſtitit: et ideo fuit "ſine væ" reprobationis vel opprobrii. De quo propterea poteſt referri illud Eſther, quod "fama nominis ejus creſcebat quotidie." De quo etiam, et aliis duobus præmiſſis, aptatur illud proverbium; "Memoria juſti cum laudibus, et nomen impiorum putreſcit."

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VIII.

EXTRACT FROM THE CHRONICLE OF WYNTOWN.[y]

TWELF hundryne nynty yhere and ſeuyn
Fra Cryſt wes borne, the kyng of hewyn,
Willame Walays in Clyddyſdale,
That ſaw hys kyn ſuppryſyd[z] hale
Wyth Inglifmen in gret dyſpyte,
Sum of thare harmys he thoucht to qwyte.
For he wes cummyn of gentilmen,
In ſympel ſtate ſet he wes then.
Hys fadyre wes a manly knycht;
Hys modyre wes a lady brycht;
He gottyn and borne wes in maryage.
Hys eldare brodyre the herytage
Had, and joyſyd in his dayis.
  This ilk Willame the Walayis
Drew to wapnys and to gere,
As manly men than oyſyde to bere.
Wyth a ſwerde bath ſcharpe and lang
It wes hys oys than oft to gang.
  Gret dyſpyte thir Inglifmen
Had at this Willame Walays then.

[y] In this extract from the Chronicle of Wyntown the text of Macpherson's edition is followed, collated with the Lansd. MS. 197, fol. 186, seqq., concerning which, see note at the end of the quotation.

[z] disprisit, *L.*

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Swa thai made thame on a day
Hym for to ſet in hard aſſay:
Of his lang ſwerd in that entent
Fyrſt thai made hym argwment
In-til Lanark[a] Ingliſmen,
Quhare a multitud war gaddryd then.
Ane a tyt made at hys ſword.
W. "Hald ſtylle thi hand, and ſpek thi worde."
I. "Wyth thi ſwerd thow mais gret boſt."
W. "Tharefor thi dame made lytil coſt.[b]"
I. "Quhat caus has thow to were the grene?"
W. "Na cauſe, bot for to make the tene.[c]"
I. "Thow ſuld noucht bere[d] ſa fare a knyf."
W. "Swa ſayd the preyſt, that ſwywyd thi wyf:
Swa lang he cald that woman fayr,
Quhill that his barne wes made thi ayre."
I. "Me-thynk[e] thow drywys me to ſcorne."
W. "Thi dame wes ſwywyd, or thow wes borne."
Fra that keſt thai na ma wordis;
Bot ſwne wes tyte owt mony ſwordys
In-to the market of Lanark,[f]
Quhare Ingliſmen, bath ſtwr and[g] ſtark,
Fawcht intil gret multytud
Agayne Willame Walays gud.
Thare[h] he gave thame dynt for dynt;
Thare wes na ſtrenth, hys ſtrak mycht ſtynt.
As he wes in that ſtowre fechtand,
Fra ane he ſtrak ſwne the rycht hand;
And fra that carle mycht do na mare,
The[i] left hand held faſt the buklare,

[a] Langrik, *L.* [b] Thairfoir thow maid richt litill cost, *L.* [c] Nocht bot to mak the oft tene, *L.*
[d] weir, *L.* [e] This and the following line are omitted in *L.* [f] Lanerik, *L.* [g] stout and, *L.*
[h] *L.* passes over this and the following line. [i] Than that carle as brane wod Keist fast with that hand the blude, *L.*

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And he ſwa mankyd, as brayne-wode,
Keſt faſt wyth the ſtwmpe the blode
In-til Willame Walays face,
Mare cumryd of that blode he was,
Than he was a welle lang qwhile
Feychtand ſtad in that peryle.
The Inglifmen gaddryd alſa faſt,
On this Walays, qwhill at the laſt,
Fra he had wowndyt mony thare,
That agayne hym feychſtand ware,
Til his innys, as hym behowyd,
In gret hy he hym remowyd,
Defendand hym rycht manlykly:
Bot folwyd he wes rycht fellownly.
In-til the towne wes hys lemman,
That wes a pleſand fayre woman,
And ſaw this Willame chaſſyd ſwa,
In-til hyr hart ſcho wes rycht wa.
Scho gat hym wyth-in the dure:
That ſowne thai bruſſyd wp in the flure.
Than ſcho gert hym prewaly
Get owt ane-othir gat thar-by:
And wyth hyr ſlycht ſcho tayryd than
Hys fays, qwhill til the wod he wan.
The ſchyrrawe that tyme of the land,
The kyng of Inglandis lutenand,
Come to Lanark; and thare he
Gert this woman takyn be,
And gert hyre ſwne be put to dede.
That Walays ſawe in-to that ſted,
In hydlys quhare he ſtud nere by:
Thare-fore in hart he wes hewy.
Than til his frendys alſa faſt
In-til the land this Walays paſt,

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And thretty men he gat or ma:
That ilk nycht he come wyth tha,
That[k] ware manly men and ſtark,
In-to the town that tyme of Lanark.
And quhare that he wyſt the ſchyrrave
Oyſyd hys innys for til have,
In-til a loft, quhare that he lay,
Eftyr mydnycht before day
Wpe he ſtwrly[l] bruſchyd the dure,
And layd it flatlyngis in the flure.
Wyth that the ſchyrrawe all agaſt,
"Quha is that?" than ſperyd faſt.
Sayd Willame Walays, "Here am I,
Will the Walays,[m] that beſyly
Thow has ſet the[n] for to ſla.
Now to-gydder mon we ga:
The womannys dede of yhyſtyrday
I ſall now qwyt, gyf I may."
Alſa faſt than eftyr that
The ſchyrrave be the throt[o] he gat,
And that hey ſtayre he harlyd[p] hym down,
And ſlw hym thare wyth-in the town.
Fra he thus the ſchyrrawe ſlwe,
Scottis men faſt til hym drwe,
That wyth the Inglis oft tyme ware
Aggrevyd, and ſuppryſyd ſare:
And this Willame thai made thare
Oure thame cheftane and leddare,
For he dwrſt welle tak on[q] hand.
Wyth that he fayre wes,[r] and pleſand,

[k] This couplet is omitted in *L.* [l] sturdely, *L.* [m] William Wallace, *L.*
[n] Is in set the, *L.* [o] nek, *L.* [p] drew, *L.* [q] draw on, *L.*
[r] Fair man he wes, *L.*

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Manlyk, ſtowt, and[s] liberale,
And wys[t] in all gud governale:
To ſla he ſparyd noucht Inglifmen.
Til Scottis he dyd gret profyt then.
The grettaſt lordis of oure land
Til hym he gert thame be bowand:
Ild[u] thai, wald thai, all gert he
Bowſum til hys byddyng be:
And til hys byddyng, qwhay war noucht bown,
He tuk, and put thame in preſown.
Of caſtellis, bowrrowys, and fortalys
The grettaſt made hym thare ſerwys;
The Inglifmen owt of oure land
He gert be put wyth ſtalwart hand.

Swa ras thare ſwne rycht hey fame
Of the Walays this Willame:
And to the kyng Edward of Ingland
Come of hys dedis ſwne tythand,
For he wes occupyid at hame,
He ſend ſchyr Hw of Carſyngame,
That that tyme wes Trezorare,
In Scotland wyth a gret poware.
This Wallame Walays of Dunde
Aſſegeand the caſtelle wes, quhen he
Herd that there come ane new oſt
Owt of Ingland, wyth gret boſt,
Wyth this ſchyr Hw of Karſſyngame.
This ilke Walays than Willame
A[v] payne of lyf and lyme bathe he
Bade the burges of Dunde,

[s] wyse and, *L.* [t] and stout, *L.* [u] This and the following line, as well as the couplet beginning "Of castellis," are not to be found in the Lansdowne MS. [v] Under, *L.*

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At that aſſege that thai ſuld ly,
And kepe that caſtelle rycht ſtratly,
Quhill that thai wan the Ingliſmen,
That occupyid that caſtell then.
And wyth this curt than alſa faſt
Til Stryvelyne this Willame Walays paſt:
And at the bryg of Forth, Willame
The Walays met wyth Karſſyngame.
Thare thai mellayd into fycht,
Quhare mony dowre to ded wes dycht;
Thare thai layid on alſa faſt;
Thare Karſſyngame at the laſt
Wyth the maſt part of his men
Slayne be-ſyd the bryg wes then.
And all the lawe owt of that ſtede
Than turnyd the bak, and away flede.
The Scottis folowyd faſt on then:
Quhare[w]-evyr thai ouretuk the Ingliſmen,
Thai ſparyd nane, bot ſlwe all down.
Walays of this had gret renowne;
For[x] al hale the wyctory
The Scottis had of this jupardy;
And few wes ſlayne of Scottis men.
Bot Androwe of Murrawe ſlayne wes then:
Fadyr til gud ſchyre Androw he
Wes, and pryſyd of gret bownte.
This dyde Walays at Strevelyne,
And hely wes commendyt ſyne.
Fra wencuſt he had Karſſyngame,
Heyare and heyare ay wes hys fame;
And, throwe the kynrik as he paſt,
The ſtatis til hym bowyd faſt.[y]

[w] Quha, *L.* [x] This and the following line are omitted in *L.* [y] The cuntre, *L.*

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And ſyne fra the Alhalowmes[z]
In Yngland til Yhule he bydand wes.
All Allyrdayle as man of were
That tyme he brynt wyth his powere:
And wyth gret prayis[a] owt of that land
Come eſtyr the Yhule in-til Scotland,
And all kyn-kynd of Inglifmen
He gert put owt of Scotland then.

. . . . . .

OF THE FAWKYRK FOLOWIS HERE
THE BATAYLLE IN THIS CHAPITERE.*

Twelf hyndyre aucht and nynty yhere
Fra[b] borne had Cryſt the Madyn clere,
Willame Walays in Scotland
Wes the ſtatis[c] hale rewland,
And commendyt wes rycht welle
In all his dedis ilke dele,
Quhen wyth the lang-ſchankis the kyng Edwart
Had herd in Ingland eſtyrwart,
How in-til Scotland than Willame
Walays had met wyth Karſſyngame,
And had hym and his men all ſlayne,
Quhare-of this Edward wes noucht fayne,[d]
In Scotland wyth a gret powere
Gaddryd he come, as man of were.
On Saynt Mary Magdalenys day
At the Fawe-kirk aſſemblyd thai.
Thare Willame Walays tuk on hand,
Wyth mony gret lordys of Scotland,
To mellay wyth that kyng in fycht:
Thare mony dowre to dede wes dycht.

[z] The feist, *L.* [a] Price, *L.* [b] Lichtair was the, *L.* [c] Scottes, *L.*
[d] Thairof I trowe he was, *L.* * Chap. xv.

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This kyng Edward of Ingland then
Of Scotland had mony gentilmen,
That for dyſpyt and gret inwy
Til hym drw malityowſly:
And the Cwmynys in tha dayis
Welle luwyd noucht Willame the Walays.
Bot yhit the lele Scottis men,
That in that feld ware feychtand then,
To-gyddyr ſtwd ſa fermly[e]
Strykand before thame manlykly,
Swa that nane thare thyrl thame mycht,
Bot Robert the Brows than wyth a ſlycht,
(He thare wes wyth this kyng Edwart,
Set he oure[f] kyng wes eſtyrwart)
Wyth ſchyre Anton the Bek, a wyly man,
Of Durame byſchape he wes than,
A-bowt ane hill a well fere[g] way
Owt of that ſtowre than prikyd thay;
Behynd bakkis alſa faſt
Thare thai come on, and layid on faſt;
Swa made thai the dyſcumfytowre.
The Scottis thare ſlayne war in that ſtoure.
Thare Jhon Stwart a-pon fute,
Wyth hym the Brandanys thare of Bute,
And the gentilmen of Fyf
Wyth Makduff, thare tynt the lyf.
For dyſpyt and gret inwy
The Cwmynys kyn all halyly[h]
Fyrſt left the[i] feld; and, as behowyd,
Syne Willame Walayis hym remowyd:
For he perſawyd gret malys
Agayne hym ſcharpyd mony wys.

[e] Stude stalwerthly, *L.* [f] That our, *L.* [g] Far, *L.* [h] Him halely, *L.* [i] Lift in the, *L.*

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Wyth-owtyn dowt that ilke day,
Quhen mony Scottis fled away,
Quhare ewyre thai hapnyd to be oure-tane,
All thai ware flayne down evyrilkane.
The[k] Inglifmen had halyly
Of that jowrnay the wyctory.
  Before than couth na man fay,
Na nevyr[l] wes fene befor that day,
Sa hale wencuft the Scottis men:
Na it had noucht fallyn then,
Had noucht falfhed and inwy
Devyfyd thame fa fyndryly.[m]
  Eftyr that batalle few dayis,
This forfayd Willame the Walayis
Perfawyd, how he wes in gret leth
Had wyth the Cwmynys, and in thare wreth,[n]
And in dowt of trefown ftad,
Be fwylk taknys[o] as he had.
Befyd the Wattyre of Forth he
Forfwk wardane evyr to be,
Or fwylk ftate in Scotland hald;
Tak thai curys[p] quha-evyr wald:
For leware he had to lyve fymply,
Na wndyre[q] fic dowt in fenyhowry;
Na the lele comownys of Scotland
He wald noucht, had peryft wndyr his hand.
  Of his gud dedis and manhad
Gret geftis, I hard fay, ar made;
Bot fa mony, I trow noucht,
As he in-til hys dayis wroucht.

[k] This and the following line are omitted in *L.*
[l] Ne eftir, *L.*
[m] Sa halely, *L.*
[n] And in breith, *L.*
[o] Be sik sere takynnys, *L.*
[p] That cure, *L.*
[q] Na be vnder, *L.*

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Quha all hys dedis of prys wald dyte ;[r]
Hym worthyd a gret buk to wryte,[rr]
And all thai to wryte in here
I want bathe wyt and gud layfere.[s]

[r] Write, *L.*

[rr] Him behovit put mekill in dyte, *L.*

[s] The following MS. note, by "William Guthrie, Esq.," throws some light upon the history of this manuscript, which was not collated for Macpherson's admirable edition :—"This MS. formerly belonged to the Sinclairs of Roslyn, an ancient family in Lothian, in Scotland, and then to the Kers of Kirtony; and I am apt to think that it had been carry'd from Scotland by Cromwell, and presented to Fairfax, who was very curious in MSS. collections; and probably the Lord Sommers bought it at the sale of the Duke of Buckingham, who marry'd Fairfaxes daughter and heiress."

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IX.

EXTRACT FROM THE ROYAL MANUSCRIPT, 20 A. iii.[t]

DEL CONQUESTE DE BEREWYKE. Cap. clxxvii.

APRES qe les deux cardinals furent retournez en Fraunce pur tretter del acord a Cambray, entre le roi Dengleterre et le roi de Fraunce, le roi Dengleterre maunda illoiqes de ſes countes, ceſt a ſauoir, ſire Edmound, ſoun frere, counte de Lancaſtre, ſire Henre de Laſcẏ, counte de Nicol, ſire William de Veſcẏ, baroun, et bien quartorze barnetz Dengleterre.

Et meiſmes cel temps le roi Edward priſt ſoun voiage vers Eſcoce, ſur ſire Johan de Baillol, roi Deſcoce; et ſire Robert de Roos de Werke ſeu fui des Engleis, et ſoi miſt a les Eſcotz; et le roi Edward ſoi miſt a Berewẏke et aſſegea la ville, et ceux de deinz ſoi defenderent egrement, et miſtrent a flambe deux des neefs le roi Edward; ſi ly diſrent en reproece,

[t] Another copy of this Chronicle is preserved in the Cottonian MS. Domit. A. x. (fol. 76,) agreeing pretty closely with the Royal MS., as the following extract will show:—

Apres qe les deux cardinals feurent returnez en France pur tretir de la pes a Caumbrai par qei le roi maunda illueqes de ses countes et barons, cest assauoir sire Esmon son frere counte de Nichole, sire William de Vescy, et altres grantz seignurs assetz bien .xiiij. banerets des meillours Dengleterre.

Et en mesure le temps le roi prist son veage vers Escoce sur Johan le Baillol, et Robert de Roos de Werke senfuist de Engleis et se mist a les Escoz, et sire Edward se mist a Berewike et assega la ville, et ceux de deinz se defendirent egrement et mistrent en flaumbe deux de les niefs sire Edward. Et le roi a force passa les fosses et assaillist les portes et conquist la ville, [*etc.*]

The more important variations between the two copies are pointed out in the following notes.

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"What wende the kỳng Edward
For his langge ſchankes,
For to wỳnne Berewyke,
Al oure vnthankes?
Go pike it him;
And when he it have wonne,
Go dike it him."

Quant le bon roi Edward oi ceſte reproece taunt fiſt il par ſa pruſce qe il aſſailli les portes, et paſſa et conquiſt la ville, et occiſt par ſoun gracious poer vynt et cink mille et ſept centz.[u] Lors ne perdi le roi a cele conqueſte hom de renoun, fors vn gentil quens ſire Richard de Cornewaille, qe vn Fleming occiſt hors de la Rouge ſale de vn quarrel, ſi com le dit Richard auala ſoun healme et lour commanda ſoi rendre a la grace le roi, par quei la ſale ert arſe et touz ceux de deinz enſement,[v] ſi ne perdỳ le roi plus de ſimple gentz a cele conqueſte fors vint et oỳt de gentz pediſtres. Ceſtes vous qe le gardeỳn del chaſtel le rendi ſus ſaunz aſſaut, et illoeqes furent pris William Douglas, Simond Friſel, et le counte Patrik ſoi[w] rendỳ a la pees. Mais Ingram de Humfreuille et Robert de Brus, qe eſtoient od le roi Edward, tournerent a les Eſcotz et tindrent[x] countre le roi mais, toſt a force puis ſoi[y] rendirent le roi Edward et cil les fiſt mettre en priſoun, mais puis le roi les pardona lour treſpas et les deliuera. Lors penſa le roi de la reproece qe les Eſcotz lỳ diſtrent einz qil ount conquis Berewyce, ſi fiſt la ville clore de bon mur et de foeſſee. Apres ceo Robert de Roos de Werke ſen vait en Tyndale et miſt a flambe Woxbragge[z] et Exceſham[a] et Lamerſtok, et occiſt et robbea la gent de pais et puis priſt il Dunbarre; et le primer meſkerdi de Marcz le roi Edward maunda le counte de Garenne, ſire Henri de Perci et ſire Hughe le Deſpenſer barouns, od moult beale compaignie, pur aſſeger le chaſtel; mais ſire Richard Siward traitre loſenger, qe ert de la garneſture, ſoi ſotilla pur enginner les Engleis par deſcite qil lour rendreit le chaſtel, ſil lour voleient graunter reſpit taunt qe al oitiſme jour apres, iſſint qil porreit en

[u] xxv.m. et vij.c. [v] Tute abatue et arse et touz ceux qi leinz feurent. [w] Se.
[x] Comencerent a tenir. [y] Ils se. [z] Woxebrigge. [a] Excelsham.

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meen temps maunder leſtat de la garneſture a ſire Johan Baillol roi Deſcoce, qe ſil ne volſiſt remuer la ſiege le oitiſme iour auaunt dit il[b] rendereient le chaſtel as Engleis, et a ceo ſoi[c] miſt il en hoſtage. Le meſſager vint toſt al roi Johan Baillol ou il ert en tapinage od ſoun hoſt, et ly diſt ſoun meſſage endreit del reſcus del dit chaſtel. Eſtes vous qe le Baillol, en countre le purport del couenaunt qe ſe tailla entre les Engleis et la dite garneſture endreit del reſcus al oitiſme jour auaunt dit, priſt ſoun hoſt et vynt lendemain matin vers le chaſtel. Et com ſire Richard Siward qe ert en hoſtage od les Engleis les viſt il ert joious, ſi quideit qe les Engleis ſerroient deſconfitz ſi lour diſt "Ha Dieu! com jeo voi venir gent de beal apparail jeo menvois eux aſſailler;" mais ſire Hughe le Deſpenſer entendi qe ceo ert par a traiſon[d] le dit ſire Richard qe les Eſcotz vindrent ſur eux taunt ſodeynement et diſt "Ha! Richard traitre voſtre traiſoun ja ne vous valdra une allie,"[e] lors le fiſt il toſt lier les mains et piez enſemble et puis ſe moua od les Engleis vers lour enemys, ſi occiſtrent les Engleis des Eſcoteis vint et deux mille, car les Eſcotz nauoient a cele houre entre eux hom de value fors ſire Patrike de Graham qe ſoi defendi com bier, et fuſt occis. Lors diſtrent les Engleis in reproece des Eſcoteis,

"Skiterende Scottes
Hald men for ſottes,
Of wrenches vnware;
Erle in a morwenynge,
In an euel timynge,
Driuen thei were fro Dunbarre."[f]

Quant ceux de la garneſture del chaſtel de Dunbarre auoient veu la deſconfiture, il rendirent le chaſtel as Engleis et obligerent corps, terres et chateux al roi Edwarde; et il les maunda a la Toure de Loundres en garde.[g]

[b] Ils voleient rendre. [c] Il se mist. [d] Qe ceo fust treson compasse.
[e] Haa! traitre esprouee! vostre traison ne vous vaudra.
[f] This is omitted in the Cottonian MS.
[g] Edward, et si estoient donque pris el chastel treis countes, .vij. barons, .xxviij. cheualers, .xj. clers, et .vij. pikartz, et tous feurent mandes a la Tour de Loundres.

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COMENT LE ROY EDWARD DE SA GRACE DELIUERA LES CHIUENTAINS DESCOCE HORS DE PRISOUN ET COMENT IL SOI ALLIERENT AS FRAUNCEIS PAR ABETTEMENT WILLIAM WALEIS. Capitulum clxxviii.

Quant le roi Edward out a cete foiȝ finiȝ ſa guerre et pris les chiuentains Deſcoce, adonque vỳnt ſire Johan Baillol et ſoi rendi al roi et a ſa grace et fuſt meſne a la Tour de Loundres et quant le roi vint illoeqes il les apella devaunt lỳ et les areſona coment il voleient[h] reſtorer ſa grant perde qil auoit par eux, et cil ſe miſtrent touȝ en ſa mercy. "Seignurs," fait le roi, "ieo ne voil mỳe voȝ terres, einȝ voil qe vous moi facez le ſerment ſur le corps Iheſu Criſt[i] de eſtre deſormais loials a moỳ, et qe iammes armes countre moi ne porterez;" et tut ceo ly otrierent ils de bone volente et firent le ſerment, ceſt aſauoir ſire Johan Comyn, le quens de Statherne, les quens de Carrik, et quatre eueſqes pur tote la clergie. Et iſſint le roi les deliuera et lour dona ſauf conduit deſqes en lour pais.[k] Ne demora gaire[l] apres qil ne leuerent altre foiz countre le roi Edward, car les ȝentȝ le roi eſtoient pris en Gaſcoigne, ſi com auaunt dit.[m] Mais ſire Johan de Baillol roi Deſcoce entendi qe la terre Deſcoce irreỳt ahounte pur lour fauſine, et ſen vait outre la meer en Fraunce et veſquiſt al meux ȝil pout ſur ſes terres, et la foi tint il ſaunz reuenir, par quei les Eſcotȝ lỳ apellerent Johan Tomtabard, pur ceo qe il leſſa le roialme Deſcoce tant legerement a noun chaler. Parount les Eſcotz choiſerent a lour ſouerein William Waleis, vn ribaud eſtrait de nient, qe fiſt pus grant damage as Engleis. Lors penſa le roi Edward com il porroit auoir la deliueraunce de ſes gentz, qe pris furent en Gaſcoigne, et paſſa outre en Flaundres pur guerroier le roi de Fraunce, et le counte de Flaundres le receuſt a graunt honur et ly obligea ſa terre a ſa volentee. Quant le roi de Fraunce entendi qe le roi Dengleterre fuſt ariue en Flaundres od graunt poer pur ly deſtrure, il ſoi douta mult et requiſt le roi Dengleterre de triwes de deux aunȝ, iſſint qe marchaunds Engleis et Fraunceis poeſſent de ambe partz aler ſaluement. Et le roi Edward ly otra ſa priere ay tieles qil vſt le deliueraunce de ſa gent qi furent pris en Gaſcoigne, et le roy de Fraunce

[h] Vodroient. [i] Sur les seintz euangelies. [k] Sauf conduit en lor paiis demene.
[l] Gueres. [m] From here to "lors pensa" omitted in the MS. Cott.

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ert mult lee de cele pees duraunt la triwe, et ly deliuera les priſoners qe furent pris en Gaſcoigne. A cel temps les Eſcotz maunderent per leueſqe de Seynt Andre al roi de Fraunce et a ſire Charles ſoun frere, et ly prierent qe ſire Charles veniſt od ſoun poer en Eſcoce, et il od lour poer le reſciuereit et od lẏ irroient a deſtrure tote Engleterre.[n] Le roi ne eſtoundi mie le meſſage le dit eueſqe, ne ne graunta nul aide a les Eſcotȝ, per quei leueſqe retourna en Eſcoce; ne purquant les Eſcotȝ bierent ſocour les Fraunceis en taunt qe le roi de Fraunce ne les fiſt en condit de aide, et comencerent a robber et a deſtrure Northumberland et firent mult de mals.

COMENT WILLIAM WALEIS FIST TUER SIRE HUGH DE CRESSINGHAM.

Capitulum c.lxxix.

Lors ert la nouele venue al roi Edward qe William Waleis out taunt de poer et ſeignurie, qe touȝ les Eſcoteis furent a ly entendauntȝ pur occir les Engleis et pur deſtrure la terre; dount le roẏ Edward ſe coroucea et maunda par ſes lettres al counte de Garenne, a ſire Henry Percẏ, a ſire William de Latymer, et a ſire Hugh de Creſſingham ſoun Treſorer,[o] qe il preiſſent poer et alaſſent en Northumberlande et auaunt en Eſcoce pur defendre les parties. Quaunt William Wallace oẏ la nouele il ſe miſt a la fuite, et les Engleis le chacerent taunt qil vindrent a Strẏuelẏn et la ſoi tindrent. Eſtes vous qe William Waleis de jour en altre eſcria les Engleis, et les manacea, et fiſt et diſt tut le deſpit qil pout. Iſſint qe les Engleis iſſirent per vn jour matin hors del chaſtel a la muntaunce de dis mille, et paſſerent le pount, et William Waleis vint od graunt poer et les chacea a rere, car les Engleis nauoient foiſoun countre les Eſcotȝ a cele foiȝ, einȝ ſenfuirent; dount cil qe poeient paſſer le pount eſchaperent en le chaſtel; mais ſire Hughe de Creſſingham Treſorer le roi illoeqes occis, dount le doel ert mult graunt. A cele temps auoit le roi Edward Dengleterre eſploitee en Flaundres ſes boſoignes en dreit de la deliueraunce de

[n] Engleterre Descoce desqes en kent et en ceo saffirent les Escoz, mes le roi Phelippe ne voleit assentir mes nepurquaunt les Escoz comencerent robber et destruire en Northumberland et firent lor cheuenteyn vn ribaud William Waleis estret de nient.

[o] The Cottonian Manuscript here passes at once to the words "Tresorer le roi" beneath.

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ſes barouns qe furent pris en Gaſcoigne, et ſen reuint en Engleterre et priſt donqes ſoun chemyn vers Eſcoce, et vint en la terre al Aſcencion, et fiſt mettre a feu quaunt qil troua devaunt ly; mais les poeures paiſſauntz ly vindrent eſpeſſement, et ly requiſtrent pur Dieu qil vſt de eux pitee et mercy; le roi en out de eux pitee, et defendi qe nul homme ne feiſt ſi bien noun a ces renduz, ne as gentz ordinez, ne a ſeinte eſgliſe, einz fiſt il eſpier par tut il porreit trouer nul de ſes felouns. Lors vint vn eſpie, et diſt al roi qe les Eſcotz furent aſſemblez pour doner[p] bataille. Eſtes vous qe le roy Edward vint a Foukirke[q] le jour de la Magdaleyne et dona bataille a les Eſcotz, en quele bataille[r] trent et deux mille furent occis, et des Engleis vint et oit ſaunz plus morrurent illoeqes, entre les queux out vn vaillaunt chiualer occis qe fuſt hoſpiteler, Brian de Jay per noun, car quaunt William Waleis ſen fui de la bataille, le dit frere William le ſui, mes ſoun deſtrer ſuthi[s] en vn mareeis deſqes al ventre, et Waleis ſe viſt ſi retourna et ly occiſt illoeqes, et ceo eſtoit graunt damage. Lors ſen vait le roi Edward par my Eſcoce, eſpiaunt par tut ſil pout trouer nul de ſes enemys, mais il ny out ce ly qe ly oſeit attendre; et donque retourna le roi Edward vers le South, car il voleit eiſeer ſes gentz pur le yuern qe fuſt en venaunt. Et quant il vint a Loundres il fiſt redreſcer pluſours meſſaitz qe vaiſtiz furent countre ſa pees taunt com il eſtoit en Flaundres.

DEL DERREIN MARIAGE LE ROI EDWARD ET SOUN TIERCZ ALEE EN ESCOCE. Cap. c.iiij[xx].

Lors eſtoit il ordine par la court de Rome qe le roi Edward priſt Margarete le ſoer le roi Phelippe de Fraunce, et lerceueſque Robert de Wynchelſee les eſpoſa; par quei la pees ert afferme entre le roi Dengleterre et le roi de Fraunce, et donqe ſen ala le roi Edward le tiercz foiz en Eſcotz. Et deinz le primer an il out la terre taunt enfaminee qe il ny out vn ſoul Deſcotz qe ne vint a ſa merci, fors vne compaigne[t] qe de nouel furent entrez en le chaſtel de Eſtruelyn,[u] qe de vitaille eſteit eſtuffee pur ſept aunz.

[p] Attendre. [q] Faukirke. [r] Bataille feurent occis des Escoz .lx. m.
[s] Saficcha. [t] Ribaudaile. [u] Striuelyn.

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DEL SIEGE DE ESTRIUELYN. Cap. c.iiij.^{xx} j.

Ne demora apres gaires de temps qe le roi Edward Dengleterre ne vint a Striuelyn et aſſegea illoeqe le chaſtel, mais il ne pout les Eſcotz damager, taunt fuſt le chaſtel fort et bien defenduz. Lors ſe purpenſa le roi Edward de vne quointiſe, et fiſt leuer deux haltes furches deuaunt le tour de chaſtel, et fiſt ſoun ſerment qe touz ceux de la garneſture ſerroient penduz, tut fuſent il countes ou barouns ſil fuſent a force pris, ſil ne ſoi rendiſſent a ſa pees. Quant ceux dedeinz oirent la manace il ſoi rendirent a la grace le roi, et le roi les pardona ſoun mal talent, et illoeques firent touz les grauntes Deſcoce ſerement al roi Edward qil vendroient touz a Loundres a ſoun parlement et eſterroient a ſa ordinaunce.

DEL TRAILLEBASTOUN. Cap. c.iiij.^{xx} ij.

. . . . . .

DE LA MORT WILLIAM WALEYS. Cap. c.iiij.^{xx} iij.

Lors aueit le bon roi Edward ſa volentee en Gales en Gaſcoigne et en Eſcoce, et ſes traitres out il confounduz, fors ſoulement vn rybaud William Waleys, qe ne ſe voleit vnqes humilier al roi.[v] Mais en la veille ſeint Dominik, lan del regne le roi Edwarde trent et tiercz, fuſt le dit William Waleys pris et preſentee al roi, mais le roi ne le voleit regarder, einz le maunda a Loundres od ſoun juggement; et illoeqe en la veille ſaint Bartholomee fuſt il traigne, penduz, decolee, deſboele, et ſes boels ars et ſoun corps quartornee, et ſa teſte ficchee ſur vne launce et fuſt mis ſur le pount de Loundres, et ces quartre membres furent maundez as quatre chiefs villes Deſcoce, en remembraunce qe les altres Deſcoce ſoi enfourmaſſent coment il ſe contenderoyent vers lour liege ſeigneur.

DE LA MORT JOHAN WALEYS. Cap. c.iiij.^{xx} xj.[w]

Quaunt les ſeignours Deſcoce eſtoient mortz et confounduz pur lour fauſine, lors ert Johan le frere William Waleis pris, et termina tut enſement com Johan counte de Atheles fiſt deuaunt.

[v] qi ne se voleit onqes obliger ne humilier au roi.

[w] This chapter is omitted in Domit. A. x.

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X.

EXTRACT FROM THE COTTONIAN MANUSCRIPT, DOMIT. A. III., fol. 36, b.[x]

ANNO m.cc.97, cum dictus rex Edwardus tranſſretaſſet in Flandriam, circa, ſcilicet, feſtum decollationis ſancti Johannis Baptiſtæ, iterum rebellaverunt Scoti, duce quodam ribaldo, dicto Willelmo le Waleys, frequenter etiam a ſuis propter ſcelera ſua forbannito; quem rex, propter illius malitiam, ad pacem ſuam non admiſerat. Scoti igitur ipſius ducatu, nimia crudelitate ſævientes, Northamhumbriam et Weſtmeriam invadentes, omnia devaſtant ac ſuccendunt, ætati non parcentes nec ſexui. In quadrageſima vero ſequente, cum per ſummum pontificem dominum Bonifacium .8., pro reparatione pacis inter reges Franciæ et Angliæ, treuga eſſet data, et ab eiſdem regibus accepta, rediit rex Edwardus in Angliam, et etiam exercitus illius qui fuerat in Vaſconia. Rex vero, congregato exercitu copioſo, adivit Scotiam contra rebelles ſibi ac perjuros pugnaturus; quos in multitudine gravi contra ſe condemnatos reperiens, agreditur; et, commiſſo prœlio, annuente Domino, victoria potitur. Et fuit hoc bellum anno Domini m.cc.98, in die ſanctæ Mariæ Magdalenæ inter primam et terciam, ad .vij. miliaria de Streuelin, in loco qui Anglice vocatur "Fowechapele," Gallice "la Vere Chapele," ubi ceciderunt de Scotis circiter .80. milia, reliquis illa vice ſe fuga ſalvantibus. Anglici vero nullam jacturam ſuorum habuerunt, præter equorum qui in primo congreſſu vulnerabantur, excepto Magiſtro Templariorum in Anglia, Briand de Jay vocato, qui indiſcrete W. Walenſem ducem Scotorum perſecutus, interemptus eſt.

[x] The writer of this Chronicle states, (fol. 36, b.,) that he was present at the funeral of William de Bello Campo, earl of Warwick, who died on the feast of SS. Primus and Felicianus, and was interred before the great altar in the church of the Friars Minors at Worcester, on the 5 kal. of May 1296.

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XI.

EXTRACT FROM THE HARLEIAN MANUSCRIPT, 1348, fol. 17.[y]

En meſme le tens leva un novel debat en Eſcoce per le avant dit Johan de Bailolf, que contre ſon ſerement commence ſon homage tranſverſer, par ont la guere ſe priſt a celẏ roẏ Edward en Gaſk', Gales e Eſcoce, tut a une foiz; mes taunt eſpleite lẏ roẏs en Gales que le dit Madd' e tut ly altre poteſtaz ſe vendent pleynement en ſa grace, le quil Madd' il comanda a la tur de Lond', e les altrez priſonz a diverſe chaſtels permy ſon realme. Si ſen vait erraunt en Eſcoce, et conquiſt le vile de Berwyke, e pus ſen vait a Donbar, e conquiſt la bataille, ou le dit Johan ſe rend, e oue lẏ tuz lez meillors contes e barons de la terre, ſi les meve oue lẏ a Lond', auſi cum conquerour de tote la terre Deſcoce. E quant il eſt a Lond' en ſon pleẏn parlement, ia ſe ſunt conte e baroun Deſcoce a novel condicion obligez, que de lẏ, auſi cum de lour conquerour, tendrunt terre e tenementz a tuz jurs; e lẏ roy per novele ſerrement e novele fẏn facte lez recungie en Eſcoce. Se retẏnt le avant dẏt Johan, auſi cum roẏ abatu, en priſon perpetuel, per que le accion cele terre tẏnt, e tenẏr clamera, auſi cum pure conqueſte deſpe. Kaunt ly roẏ Edward aveit ceus avantdẏs debatz duement fẏniz, ſi ſe anguiſſa grauntment de ſe[s] terres en Gaſk', que par traẏſon lẏ ſont detenuz . . . . . [z] En

[y] This manuscript was written about the middle of the reign of Edward the Third.

[z] Some sentences unconnected with our subject are here omitted.

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quele abſenſe le roẏ, ſe conſeillent leȝ auanȝ diȝ felons Deſcoce autre guere commencer, en favour de un rẏbaut, WILL'. WALEYS, dunt lẏ roẏ, a ſa venue hors de Flandres, fu freſchement ocupeȝ, perunt e ly ont un bataille, que len apele Faukyrke. E pus a reſtut ſon vivant, lẏ leverent anguiſſes e travails, per enbracement de mal e de guere, que de an en an lẏ abetterent en Eſcoce, que lẏ roẏs a ſa revenue tutdẏȝ ben et bel eſcheuẏ, e per vertu de guere tutdis les repriſt, e per noveale ſerement les reclamera.

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XII.

EXTRACT FROM THE HARLEIAN MANUSCRIPT, 229, fol. 45.[a]

Anno graciæ m.cc.xcviij., et regis Edwardi xxvj., commiſſum eſt bellum apud Foukyrke, in die beatæ Mariæ Magdalenæ, in quo ceciderunt .lx. millia Scottorum. Verumtamen Scoti paulatim invaleſcentes per .xxx. annos uſque ad tempora regis Edwardi poſt conqueſtum tertii, Anglos et Anglorum vicina loca ſæpius proteruerunt.

Anno Domini m.ccc.v., et regis Edwardi xxxiij., captus eſt in Scotia capitalis genti Anglorum inimicus Willelmus Waleis, Scotus; qui præcepto regis ductus Londonias, ibidem tractus et ſuſpenſus et decapitatus eſt.

[a] This MS. is in quarto, written upon vellum, in the fourteenth century, being continued in the same hand as far as the year 1372. The following inscription shows its former place of deposit, "Liber Monasterii Beatæ Mariæ Sanctique Egwini Eveshamiæ."

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XIII.

EXTRACT FROM ROYAL MANUSCRIPT, 14, C. i, fol. 4.[b]

QUÆDAM recapitulatio brevis de geſtis domini Edwardi regis, cum quibuſdam aliis accedintibus in tempore ſuo.

Quoniam ſacra Scriptura dicit, Laudate poſt mortem, prædica ſecurum; poſt obitum domini Edwardi illuſtris regis Angliæ recapitulando in genere et compendioſe concludendo frater Willelmus de Riſſanger cronicator, de multis pauca tangendo, ad Dei honorem et animæ regiæ recommendationem redigit in ſcripturam.

. . . . . .

De iſta materia cronigraphus metrice ſcribens breviter ſic ait,

Edwardus rex Angliæ Scotos expugnavit,
Eorum hoſtiliter vires enervavit,
Walliamque Scotiam ſibi ſubjugavit;
Willelmus Wales dux Scotorum latitavit.

[b] This metrical effusion is, perhaps, from the pen of William de Rishanger, a monk of St Albans, concerning whose writings see Tanner's Bibliotheca, p. 634. The title and prologue given above, which follow upon the reverse of the same folio in the Royal MS. from which these lines are transcribed, convey further information upon the subject.

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Tandem captus vinculis ſtrictis mancipatur,
Et ductus Londonias, ibi judicatur,
Tractuſque ſuſpenſus eſt, tandem decollatur;
Qui primo riſit, poſt hæc merito lacrimatur.

Talis in memoria rex ſit ſempiterna,
Qui rebelles ſubditos compulit eterna
Sua mala plangere, novaque moderna;
In cœlis anima quieſcat pace ſuperna.

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XIV.

EXTRACT FROM THE PATENT ROLL, 41 Edw. III. p. i. M. 11.

Ð exemplificacõe.} R' omibz ad quos &c ſalłm. Inſpexim⁹ quaſdam lrãs patentes quas dñs E' nup Rex Angł pat nr fecit Margarete filie ⁊ heredi Robti de Roos de Werkꝗ ſup Twedam in hec ꝑba

Edwardus dei gra Rex Angł Dñs hibñ ⁊ Dux aquit Omibz Balliuis ⁊ fidelibz ſuis ad quos ꝑſentes lre pueñint ſałtm. Monſtrauit nob dilca ⁊ fidelis nra Margareta fil ⁊ heres Robti de Roos de Werkꝗ ſup Twedam qđ licet ꝑfatus Robtus de Roos adheſit Scotis inimicis ⁊ rebellibz dñi E' quondã Regis angł pris ñri ⁊ cum eiſdem ⁊ aliis Scotis inimicis dci pris ñri equitauit cũ vexillis explicatis ardendo cum eiſdem villam de Werkꝗ in com̃ Northumbr ⁊ alia incendia ⁊ dampna q^cmplurima in regno nro Angł cum dcis inimicis tempore pđci pris nri cont^c fidem ſuã ppetranđ ⁊ q̃d poſtmodũ idem Robtus de Roos adherens fuit Scotis inimicis dci pris nri ⁊ Wilło Waleys tunc pditori eiuſdē pris nri et q̃d fuit in comitiua ipius Wilłi ⁊ alioꝝ Scotoꝝ inimicoꝝ ꝑdci pris nri in pdicõe ſua tempore dci pris nri ⁊ cont^c fidem ſuã Nos volentes ⁊ conſideracoem ħentes ſupplicãcoi dce Margarete q̃d cum int ceas condcões quas celebris memorie Dñs E' quondam Rex Angł pat nr dudũ in ptibz Scocie de aſſenſu Comitũ Baronũ ⁊ alioꝝ fideliũ tunc ibidē exiſtenciũ conceſſit Joħi Comyn de Badenagħ p ſe ⁊ hoibz de Scõc qui cont^c dcm̃ prem nrm

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ibidem de guerra fuerunt q̃d ſalua eſſent eis vita ⁊ membra ⁊ q̃d quieti eſſent de impriſonamento ⁊ q̃d non exheredarent q̃dq̃ heredes tunc infra etatem exiſtentes eiſdem condicõibꝫ gauderent quo ad ſaluacõem vite ⁊ membroꝝ ⁊ quo ad adquietacõem impriſonamenti ⁊ exheredacõis ꝑut in eiſdem condicõibꝫ pleniꝯ continet Ac ꝑfata Margareta ſepius ad nos accedens aſſerenſq̃ ipam̃ tempore conceſſionis condicionū ꝑdcaꝝ infra etatem extitiſſe ⁊ eiſdem condicõibꝫ gaudere debere. Nos pietate moti ⁊ de gr̃a nr̃a ſpãli ꝑ nob̃ ⁊ heredibꝫ nr̃is rõne minoris etatis dce Margarete ꝑdonauimꝯ eidem Margarete ⁊ heredibꝫ ſuis foriſſturā ꝑ ꝑdcm Robm de Roos pr̃em ſuū tam tempore pr̃is nr̃i qm tempore nr̃o quouiſmodo fcãm. Nolentes inſup q̃d ꝑfata Margareta ſeu heredes ſui de aliquibꝫ ꝑris teñ ⁊ poſſeſſionibꝫ que ꝑfate Margarete jure hereditario poſt mortē ꝑdci Robti de Roos pr̃is ſui deſcendebant occõne ꝑdicionū ſeu ſedecionū aut feloniaꝝ ſic ꝑtenſaꝝ ſeu alꝑius foriſſture cuiuſcūq̃ ꝑ ꝑdcm Robm de Roos tam tempore dci pr̃is nr̃i qm tempore nr̃o ꝑ nos vel heredes nr̃os ſeu Miniſtros nr̃os aut heredū nr̃oꝝ quoꝝcumq̃ exheredent occõnent moleſtent in aliquo ſeu gauent.

In cuiꝯ rei teſtimoniū has lrãs nr̃as fieri fecimꝯ patentes.

T' me ipõ apud Clipſtoñ ſexto die Noū anno regni nr̃i ſexto. Nos autē lrãs ꝑdcãs ad requiſicõem dilci ⁊ fidelis nr̃i Gerardi Salueyn conſanguinei ⁊ heredis ꝑdcē Margarete tenore ꝑſenciū duximꝯ exemplificand̃.

In cuiꝯ ⁊c̃ T' R' apud Weſtm̃ xxvj. die Jun̄.

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XV.

LETTER FROM ANDREW DE MORAVIA AND WILLIAM WALLACE TO THE MAYORS AND COMMONS OF LUBEK AND HAMBURGH.

DATED OCTOBER 11, 1297.[c]

ANDREAS de Morauia et Willelmus Wallenſis, duces exercitus regni Scotie et Communitas eiuſdem regni, providis viris et diſcretis ac amicis dilectis, majoribus et communibus de Lubek et de Hamburg, ſalutem et ſinceræ dilectionis ſemper incrementum.

Nobis per fide dignos mercatores dicti regni Scotiæ eſt intimatum, quod vos veſtri gratia, in omnibus cauſis et negociis, nos et ipſos mercatores tangentibus, conſulentes, auxiliantes et favorabiles eſtis, licet noſtra non præceſſerint merita, et ideo magis vobis tenemur ad grates cum digna remuneracione, ad quæ vobis volumus obligari; rogantes vos, quatinus præconizari facere velitis inter mercatores veſtros, quod ſecurum acceſſum ad omnes portus regni Scotiæ poſſint habere cum mercandiis ſuis, quia regnum Scotiæ, Deo regraciato, ab Anglorum poteſtate bello eſt recuperatum.[d] VALETE.

Datum apud Badſingtonam[e] in Scotia, undeciſimo die Octobris, anno Graciæ, milleſimo ducenteſimo nonageſimo ſeptimo.

Rogamus vos inſuper ut negocia Johannis Burnet, et Johannis Frere, mercatorum noſtrorum, promoveri dignemini, prout nos negocia mercatorum veſtrorum promovere velitis. VALETE. Datum ut prius.

[c] This interesting document, discovered by Dr Lappenburg amongst the Archives of Hamburgh, is here reprinted from the Life of Wallace (ii. 192) by John D. Carrick, Esq.

[d] The decisive victory of Stirling bridge had been gained a month before this letter was written.

[e] Haddingtonam (?)

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XVI.

CHARTER OF WILLIAM WALLACE TO ALEXANDER SKIRMISCHUR.

DATED MARCH 29, 1298.[f]

WILLELMUS WALAYS, miles, Cuſtos regni Scociæ, et Ductor exercituum ejuſdem, nomine præclari principis domini Johannis, Dei gratia regis Scociæ illuſtris, de conſenſu Communitatis ejuſdem regni, omnibus probis hominibus dicti regni, ad quos præſens ſcriptum pervenerit, æternam in Domino ſalutem.

Noverit univerſitas veſtra, nos, nomine prædicti domini noſtri regis Scociæ, per conſenſum et aſſenſum Magnatum dicti regni, dediſſe et conceſſiſſe, ac ipſas donationem et conceſſionem præſenti carta confirmaſſe, Alexandro dicto Skirmiſchur ſex marcatas terræ in territorio de Dunde, ſcilicet, terram illam quæ vocatur Campus Superior, prope villam de Dunde ex parte boreali, cum acris illis in campo occidentali, quæ ad partem regiam ſpectare ſolebant, prope villam de Dunde ex parte occidentali, et etiam pratum regium in prædicto territorio de Dunde, et etiam Conſtabulariam Caſtri de Dunde, cum ſuis pertinenciis, libertatibus et aſyamentis ſine aliquo retinemento, pro homagio prædicto domino Regi et heredibus ſuis, vel ſuis ſucceſſoribus, faciendo, et pro fideli ſervicio et ſuccurſu ſuo prædicto regno impenſo, portando vexillum regium in exer-

[f] From a fac-simile of the original, which is engraved in Anderson's Diplomata Scotiæ.

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citu Scociæ tempore confectionis præſentium. Tenenda et habenda prædicto Alexandro et heredibus ſuis de prædicto domino noſtro Rege et heredibus ſuis, vel ſuis ſucceſſoribus, libere, quiete, integre, pacifice et honorifice, in perpetuum, cum omnibus pertinenciis, libertatibus et aſyamentis ad dictam terram et pratum prænominatum, et præfatam Conſtabulariam, ſpectantibus, vel quoquo modo ſpectare valentibus in futurum, faciendo inde annuatim domino Regi et heredibus ſuis, vel ſuis ſucceſſoribus, ſcilicet, pro prædictis terra, prato et Conſtabularia cum ſuis pertinenciis, libertatibus, et aſyamentis, ſervicium quod pertinet ad dictam Conſtabulariam tantum pro omnibus quæ de prædictus exigi poterunt in futurum.

In cujus rei teſtimonium, ſigillum commune prædicti regni Scociæ præſenti ſcripto eſt appoſitum.

Datum apud Torpheichyn, vigeſimo nono die Marcii, anno Graciæ milleſimo ducenteſimo nonogeſimo octavo.

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XVII.

LETTER FROM PHILIP KING OF FRANCE TO HIS AGENTS AT THE COURT OF ROME.[g]

Ph̄ dei gr̄a franc̄ Rex dilic̄s ⁊ fidelib3. . Gentib3 nr̄is ad Romañ Cur̄ destinatis Sl̄t ⁊ dil̄. Mandam9 uob̄ quat̄ · · Sūmum Pontificem requiratis ut dilectum nr̄m Guill'm le Walois de Scocia Militem recōmendatum ħeat in hijs q̄ ap̄ eum habuit expedire. Dat̄ ap̄ Petrafontem die luñ post festum oīm Sanctoꝝ.

Endorsed,
Quarta ĩra R(ff^r^nc̄.

[g] Copied from the original letter in the Tower.

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XVIII.

LIST OF THE ENGLISH NOBILITY AT THE SIEGE OF THE CASTLE OF STIRLING.[h]

A Estiveł.
Le Conte de Garenne.
Le Conte de Nicole.
Le Conte de Glouceſtr̃.
Le Conte de Lancaſtr̃.
Le Conte de Warwick.
Le Conte de Ulueſtier.
Monſ̃ Johan de Bretayne.
Monſ̃ Eymar de Valence.
Monſ̃ Henri de Ꝑcy.
Monſ̃ Hugh le Deſpenſ̃.
Monſ̃ Guiłłem de Breouſe.
Monſ̃ Guiłłem Martyn.
Monſ̃ Johan de Segᵉve.
Monſ̃ Pier̃ de Maulay.

A ces. xiiijᶻᵉ comanda nr̃e Seignr. le Roi le jor de Seint Jak'. l an de ſon regne xxxii. ceſt aſſav̄ lendemain q̃ le Chaſtel d'Eſtivelyn fu renduz, qu il ordenaſſent cōment ꝫ en quel mane il puiſt faire choſe, de quei eux ꝫ les autres qui nouns ſont ꝯtenuz en ces deux roules ſe puiſſent tenir appaiez pr le ꝯviſe qu il li unt faitz. Et eux ſur ce aſſenblerent en plant de ces choſes par trois foiz. Mes ꝑ ce q̃ le Conte de Garenne eſtoit a cele hore en Engletre, et Monſ̃ Johᵉn de Segᵉve fuſt deſhaitez. Et enſemēt pr ce qu il covenoit q̃ pluſurs de eux ſen alaſſent en lor pays cōme ceux qui plus longement demorer ne peurent. elx regardantz qu il ne pooient ſi gᵉnt choſe deliver adroitement ſi a haſte. pierent nr̃e Seignr. le Roi q̃ ceſte ordenance peuſt ꝑndre delai, juſq̃s a ſon ꝑcien Pallement d'Engletre. En tieu mane q̃ ſi aucuns de ceux qui ſont nomez es ditz roules, le requeiſſent endementiers de garde de mariage, de baillie, de franchiſe, ou d autre choſe, en lieu de bienfait ꝫ il lor gᵉntaſt : q̃ deſlors il feuſt qites envers eux ; qᵉnt au fait de ceſte ordenance. Et por les autres. fuſt ordenez finalment au Pallement avantdit. Et enſi le granta nr̃e Seigneur le Roi a lor req̃ſte.

[h] Printed from the contemporary document, (32 Edw. I.) in Sir F. Palgrave's Documents and Records Illustrative of the History of Scotland, 8vo, London, 1837, vol. i. p. 274.

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Itm̃ fait a remembrer, q̃ a cele hore fuſt ordenez par nr̃e Seigneur le Roi ⁊ par ceux qui lors eſtoient ove li, q̃ Mons̃ Johan de Segrave demoraſt Juſtice ⁊ Cheventaine decza la Mier d Eſcoce, juſq̃ tant q̃ nr̃e Seigneur le Roi en ait autre choſe ordenee q^ent il li plera. En meiſme la mane fuſt ordenez q̃ le Conte de Athoile demoraſt Juſtice ⁊ Cheventaine dela la Mier d Eſcoce: juſq̃ tant &c̃.

℘ Itm q̃ Mons̃ Johan Comyn, Mons̃ Alex̃ de Lyndeſeye, Mons̃ David de Graham ⁊ Mons̃ Simon Fras̃ qui deivent tenir exil, ſelonc l ordenance qu en eſt faite, enſemblement les autres gentz d Eſcoce q^i ſont a la foi nr̃e Seign^r le Roi, mettent peine entre cy ⁊ le xxme. jour de Noel, de prendre Mons̃ Williame le Waleys ⁊ de l rendre a nr̃e Seign^r le Roi, ſi qu il puiſſe ver cōment cheſcun ſy portera. p̄ quei il puiſſe av̄ meilleur regard env̄ celi qui l ava p^ls, ceſt aſſav̄ endroit d exil ou derafizon ou d amende de treſpas, ou d autre choſe en quey il s̄ra tenuz a nr̃e Seign^r le Roi.

℘ Itm̃ q̃ l Eveſque de Glaſgu ſoit par bon teſmoignage dela Trente le jour de la Nativitie nr̃e Dame au plus tard, p^r demorer dela Trente en Engletre^r. juſq̃ tant q̃ nr̃e Seign^r le Roi en eit ſa volunte plus avant ordenee.

Itm̃ q̃ le Seneſchal d Eſcoce, Mons̃ Johan de Soules, ne Mons̃ Ingelram de Umfranvill ſi eent conduit, ne point ne viegnēt dedenz le poer nr̃e Seigneur le Roi^r. tant q̃ Mons̃ Gulliame le Waleys li ſoit renduz.

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XIX.

MEMORANDA AS TO THE CUSTODY OF THE CASTLES, AND RESPECTING THE PARDON OF THE BISHOP OF GLASGOW AND SIR WILLIAM WALLACE.[1]

1. Endroit des fermetez, qui deivent demorer en la mein le Roy, jeuſq̃s au plement.· le Roy entent q̃ meiſmes les fermetez ſoiēt gardez as couſtages de ceux, a qui les fermetez ſont.

2. Itm̃ endroit de l Eveſq̃ de Glaſgu.· le Roi entent, qu il ſoit de la ꝯdicion du comun, ſicome eſt ordene, ⁊ outre, qu il teigne veil p deux anz ou par trois, hors de la terre d Eſcoce, por les gentz maus, qu il ha prchacez.

3. Itm̃ endroit de William le Waleys.· le Roi entent, qu il ſoit receu a ſa volūte ⁊ a ſon ordeinement.

[1] From the work last quoted, p. 283.

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XX.

MEMORANDA RESPECTING MEASURES ON THE APPREHENSION OF SIR WILLIAM WALLACE.[k]

1. L Euefq̃ de Ceftr̃ . . . . . l Euefq̃ de Seint . . . . . l Euefq̃ de Wyreceftr̃ . . . . . le Conte de . . . . . Mōfs̃ Ad̃ Gurdoñ.

2. La lr̃e a Mōfs̃ Mit de Stapeltoñ Wilt de . . . . . rgh . . . . . Renaud &c̃. t̃ q il remandēt les fōmes.

3. It de la lr̃e Marie fit R.

4. Fait a remembrer des .xl. mrs q̃ deyvent eftre dones a un Vallet q̃ efpia Wilt le Waleys.

5. It de les .lx. mrs q̃ deyvent eftre donez as autres, t le Roi voet q̃ ces . . . . . .lx. . . . . qui feurent a la pfe du dit Willã pr ptir entre eus.

6. Đ la tre. ceft affav c ti p J. de Menetetħ.

7. Đ smēt de ceaux q̃ sront au ofail d Efcoce &c̃.

8. It de la creance des lr̃es &c̃.

9. It des efcritz d Efcoce &c̃. t des remb̃nces.

[k] On a small pannel, written in a very loose manner. The first paragraph is written transversely, the others horizontally. The document appears to be a series of memoranda of business to be brought before the notice of the Parliament or Privy Council. It is here printed from the work last quoted, p. 295.

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XXI.

ARTICLES PROPOUNDED BEFORE THE POPE AGAINST WILLIAM LAMBERTON, BISHOP OF ST ANDREWS, SETTING FORTH HIS ACTS OF PERJURY AND REBELLION.[1]

℟ Artiĉli ꝑponendi contᵉ Epm̃ Scī Andr̃ ſuꝑ cōſilio aſſenſu ⁊ adherencia ꝑſtitis ꝑ ipm̃ Roberto de Bruis, in pᵗncipio rebelliōis ſue contᵉ Regē Angl̃.

℟ Treſſeint Pere, nr̃e Seigneur le Roy d Engletre fait aſſavoir a vr̃e Seintete, q̃ Meſtre Williame de Lambretoñ, jadys Chauncellier del Egliſe de Glaſgu q̃ ore eſt Eveſq̃ de Seint Andreu en Eſcoce de ſon bon gre ⁊ de ſa fraunche volunte, ly fiſt foiante, com̃e a ſon Seignor lige, ⁊ droiturel Roi d Eſcoce, au Parlement de Berewyk' ſur Twede, le vint e utiſme jour d Augſt l an de gᵉce m.cc. nonante ⁊ ſiſme ⁊ du regne nr̃e Seigneur le Roi vintiſme quart, ſicome il es contenu en ſes lettres ſealleȝ de ſon ſeal, ⁊ en inſtrument publiq̃ ſur ce faitȝ.· et de loiaument tenir [⁊ garder] totes les choſes contenues es dites lettres, le dit Meſtre William de Lambertoñ adonk̃ Chanceller de l egliſe de Glaſgu, jura ⁊ fiſt ſerment ſur le corps Jh̃u Criſt ⁊ ſur ſeintes Evangeles, ſur la Croiȝ Neyth̃ ⁊ ſur la Blakerode d Eſcoce, ſicōme piert par lr̃es ⁊ inſtrumentȝ ſuſditȝ.

℟ Puis aꝑs q̃ l Eveſqꝗ de Seint Andreu q̃ adonk̃ feu, eſtoit mort, et les gentȝ de la tre d Eſcoce par conſail ⁊ abbet des Prelatȝ e des Clerks [de] meiſme la tre, furent leveȝ de guerre oveſq̃ William le Waleys

[1] From the work last quoted, p. 331.

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adonk' furent contre nre Seigneur le Roi leur lige Seigneur, en qui homage t foiaute eaux estoient, sicome piert par leur lettres t instrumentz publiks sur ce faitz.· la ou le chapitre de Seint Andreu avoit eslu Mestre William Comyn qe totes foitz se tint a la foi nre Seigneur le Roi, t de sa amyste.· William le Waleys t ses aherdantz, e enemys nre Seigneur le Roi, as queux le dit Mestre William de Lambertoñ se avoit done t fu aherdant contre son serment t sa ligeance, par force t par destresce le firent eslire en Evesq de Seint Andreu sanz congie demandier t sanz assent de nre Seigneur le Roi, sicome il afferroit affaire de droit t solonk l usage du Royaume, en pjudice de ly t de droit de sa corone, t par tiele eleccion, il, fait Evesq, entra t occupa la temporaute de la dite Evesche, t ensi occupe la detint, par quoi multz des mals sunt puis avenuz.

∞ Apres ce Sire, le dit Mestre William ensi fet Evesqe come est desusdit, demora a la court le Roi de France ovesqe plusors autres gntz Seigneurs d Escoce de l enimyste nre Seigneur le Roi pcuraunt de jour en autre toutz les maux qu il savoit t poeyt, contre nre dit Seigneur [le Roi] mauveisement venaunt contre sa foiaute t son ment qu il avoit faitz au dit Roi tant come il fu Chanceller de Glasgu, sicome est desusdit, jesqe tant qe la pees finale se prist par entre nre Seigneur le Roi d Engletre t le Roi de France.

∞ Encore Sire, qnt le dit Evesqe de Seint Andreu vist q la dite pees finale fu fait t accordee entre les deus Rois [de Fnce t d Engt.] il manda par lettres ovtes sealles de son seal as Prelatz, Contes, Barons, t toutz autres de la comunaute d Escoce qe adonk furent enemys le Roi par fait de guerre, t les abbetta, conseilla, excita, t requist, qu il meissent peine t diligence, t saforceassent vigorousement de guerroier nre Seignor le Roi d Engletre son Seignor lige t droiturel, si avant come il porreient, issint qu il puissent la guerre continuer t maintenir, jusq tant qu il ove les autres gntz Seigneurs d Escoce qui furent en France ove ly, peussent a eaux venir t qe ce serroit en brief temps, e ce fist il mauveisement venant contre son serment de foiaute faite au Roi d Engletre avantdit, t ceste chose est conue t notoire.

∞ Encore Sire, meisme l Evesqe de Seint Andreu mande par ses autres lres q trovees furent seallez de son seal a William Waleys enemy nre

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Seignor le Roi, ⁊ abbettaȝ, conſeilla, ⁊ pria par amour de ly † ⁊ ſur ſa beneiȝon ⸸ qu il feuſt ad tut ſon poer aidant ⁊ conſeillant, ſicom̃e il avoit avant fait a la cōmunante de la dite terre d Eſcoſſe contre le Roi d Engleꝯre ſoen Seigneur lige ⁊ droiturel, en qui foiaute il fuſt, ſicōme eſt avantdit, de le guerroier ⁊ damagier ⁊ les ſoiens ſi avant cōme il ſauroit ⁊ porroit, ⁊ ly manda qu il avoit eſcrit a ſes miniſtres en Eſcoce qu il ly livaſſent partie de ſa purveance faite por ly en Eſcoce por ſouſtenance du dit William le Waleys, d ceo fiſt le dit Eveſqe mauveiſement venant contre ſon ferment de foiaute fait au dit nr̃e Seignor le Roi la quele choſe eſt notorie en Engleꝯre ⁊ en Eſcoce.

. . . . . .

. . . . . .

[a] Eſtre ceo treſſeint Pere, come en temps de la voidance de la dite Eveſche de Seint Andreu, Maiſtre William Comyn frere au Conte de Boghan, qi bien ⁊ loiaument ſeſt tenuȝ a la foi nr̃e Seignr le Roi feuſt eſluȝ ꝑ le chapitre de la dite egliſe ⁊ William le Waleys q̃ adonq̃ fu cheventeine ⁊ guiour des gentȝ d Eſcoce, qui furent rebels, ⁊ de l enemiſte nr̃e Seignr le Roi par force ⁊ contre ſa volente, feiſt Maiſtre William de Lambretoñ adonſq̃ Chanceler de Glaſgu eſtre eſluȝ en Eveſq̃ de la dite egliſe [de Seint Andr̃] qi adonq̃ fu auſint contre nr̃e Seignr le Roi oveſq̃ le dit William ⁊ ſes autres fautours [ſicome eſt avantdit]; ⁊ meiſme celi Maiſtre William enſi fait Eveſq̃ ſe ſoit puis trop maveiſement porteȝ en moltȝ de maneres envs nr̃e Seignr le Roi, ſicome deſus eſt dit.[a] par queux acheiſons il ſemble a nr̃e Seignr le Roi q il ne ſe porra mes aſſurer de li, ne q il puiſſe bone pees avoir en ſa terre d Eſcoce, tant come le dit Eveſq̃ y demeꝯra en tel eſtat; ſi prie il a vr̃e Seintete devoutement q il vous pleiſe le dit Eveſq̃ oſter de ſa terre d Eſcoce, pur la ſeurte de li ⁊ de ſes buſoignes ⁊ pur pees ⁊ quiete du pueple, en ordenant de ſon eſtat ꝑ aillurs ſelonc ceo q il plerra a vr̃e Seintete, ⁊ q il vous pleiſe en lieu de li faire Eveſq̃ le dit Maiſtre William Comyn, qi bien ⁊ loialment s eſt tenuȝ a la foi nr̃e Seignr le Roi, ꝑ quoi il entent q il ſra ꝓfitable por l eſtat de le Egliſe ⁊ pr la pees de la terre auſint.[m]

[a] Upon a roll of parchment, composed of membranes, fastened end to end, and very fairly written, and upon which the first paragraph is endorsed in a coeval hand.

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XXII.

ARTICLES TO BE PROPOUNDED BEFORE POPE CLEMENT V. AGAINST ROBERT WISHART, BISHOP OF GLASGOW, SETTING FORTH HIS VARIOUS ACTS OF PERJURY AND REBELLION.[n]

Articuli ꝑponendi contꝫ Epm̃ Glaſguens̃ ſuꝑ cōſilio aſſenſu ⁊ adherencia ꝑ ipm̃ fc̃is Robt̃o de Brus in ꝑncipio rebelliōis contꝫ Regē Angl̃.

. . . . . .

Aꝑs ce, qꝫnt le dit nr̃e Seignr le Roy d Engletre a ſon dit ꝑlement de Berewik' avoit eſtabli tota ſa dite tre de Eſcoce de pees, ⁊ fu a la mer d Engletre en alant vs Flaundres, le dit Eveſqꝫ de Glaſgu abbetta Robt̃ de Brus Counte de Carrik' ⁊ William le Waleys ⁊ tant fiſt q̃ eux enſemblement oveſq̃s autres d Eſcoce ſe leverent contre la foy ⁊ la pees le Roy, ⁊ meurent guerre contre le Roy, et le dit Eveſqꝫ meiſme come hom contre la pees vint armez ſon corps od tote ſa gent ⁊ tot ſon poair en chaump contre le poair le Roy, en [eide] des ditz Counte ⁊ William, por faire le pys qu il poient, meis puis tant pria ⁊ fiſt le dit Eveſqꝫ de vs Mons̃ Henri de Ꝑcy ⁊ Mons̃ Robt̃ de Clifford adonq̃s cheventeins deꝑ le Roy, qu il ſe rendy a eux a la pees le Roy ⁊ reconuſſeit ꝑ bouche ⁊ ꝑ ſes lr̃es ovtes ſealees de ſon ſeal qu il malement s eſtoit levez oveſqꝫ les autres gentz d Eſcoce contre ſon Seignr lige le Roy d Engletre, ⁊ de ce ⁊ de

[n] From the work last quoted, p. 340.

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touz maus qu il avoit fait au Roy, se mist haut ⁊ bas a sa volunte sicome piert p̄ ses dites lr̄es ⁊ p̄ instrument publik̄ sur ce faitz. Et ce fist il a Erwyn en Escoce le ix. jour de Juil l an du regne nr̄e dit Seignr le Roy xxv. Et ia tardois deinz un mois aps. le dit Evesq̄ abbetta autre foiz les ditz Counte ⁊ William ⁊ tant fist qu il levont contre le Roy tant qu il vist le poair le Roy crestre. ⁊ adonq̄s se mist il aussi come hostage por lui ⁊ por les soens en le chastel de Rokesburg, mais puis p̄ ses lr̄es ⁊ p̄ ses autres faitz bien feust trove qu il le fist p̄ covture de trahir la garneison du dit chastel, les queux choses sont notoires, et hom en porra faire foy suffisauntment p̄ le Roy, et ce appareust q̄nt le host de Escosse assegi le dit chastel tantq̄ le poair le Roy d Engletre enhosta p̄ poair le dit sege.

Aps ce, q̄nt nr̄e dit Seignr le Roy s en fu retournez de Flaundres ⁊ avoit entendu q̄ le dit Evesq̄ estoit issint hostagez en le dit chastel, il de sa gr̄ce especiale ⁊ curtoisie fist deliver le dit Evesq̄ de cele hostaigerie d aler queu pt q̄ beau lui feust. Et le dit Evesq̄ de sa fraunche volunte vint a Holmcotram en Engletre au dit Roy ⁊ lui pria gr̄ce ⁊ mcy de touz trespas ⁊ maux qu il lui avoit faitz. et le Roy le receust bonement a sa gr̄ce. et la fist le dit Evesq̄ la quarte foiz sment de feaute au Roy sur le cors nr̄e Seignr, sur Seintes Evangieles, sur la Croiz Neyth̄, ⁊ sur la Blakerode de Escoce. ⁊ sur ce fist ses lr̄es ovtes sealees de son seal devant l Evesq̄ de Cardoill l Abbe de Holmcoltr̄m ⁊ plusours autres gr̄ntz Seignrs d Engletre, sicome piert p̄ instrument publik̄ sur ce fait ⁊ p̄ ses dites lr̄es ovtes sealees de son seal.

Uncore, q̄nt le dit nr̄e Seignr le Roy od steines gentz d armes ala d une pt de la tre d Escoce ⁊ enveia son fuiz le Pnce de Gales devs Gaweye ovesq̄ autre copaignie, por restrendre la malice desditz Counte ⁊ William ⁊ des autres qui estoient contre la pees, le dit Evesq̄ aps si chargeauntz smentz, come devant est dit, p̄ ses lr̄es sealees de son seal manda a William Lydel son Baillif qu il feist assembler tot le poair le dit Evesq̄, et q̄ eux alassent en la compaignie Johan de Glen as ditz Counte ⁊ William por combatre contre le dit fuiz le Roy ⁊ son poair, et ce piert bien p̄ les dites

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lres ⁊ inſtrument [publick] ſur ce faitz. Et puis q^ent le dit nre Seign^r le Roy avoit deſconfit ſes rebels d Eſcoce ⁊ foit crier ⁊ tenir pees ptut, le dit Eveſq^e de Glaſgu vint au Roy a Cambuſkynetħ ⁊ pria la g^ace ⁊ mercy le Roy de touz ſes treſpas, ⁊ illoqs la quinte foiz fiſt ſment de foiaute au Roy come devant, ſur le corps nre Seign^r, ſur Seintes Evangeiles, ſur la Croiz Neytħ ⁊ ſur la Blakerode, et le Roy de ſa g^ace eſpeciale le receuſt bonement, ⁊ lui rendy la temporaute de ſa Eveſchee, come cele quele il avait forfait. Il adonqs reconuſoit ſoy avoir receu la dite temporante de la g^ace le Roy come de ſon lige Seign^r ⁊ dreiturel Roy d Eſcoce, ⁊ de la tenir de lui ⁊ de nul autre, ſicome piert p lres le dit Eveſq^e ovtes ſealees de ſon ſeal, et p inſtrument publick ſur ce faitz le v. jour de Marz l an de g^ace m^lccc. tierz.

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XXIII.

EXTRACT FROM THE WARDROBE ACCOUNT, 32 EDWARD I.°

DONA.

* * * * * *

* * * * * *

Vallett⁹ Comitis Ultoñ } Nicho Oyſel Valletto Comitis Ultoñ portanti ad Rſ nova de diſconfitura fca p dnõs Willm le Latym Johem de Segrave t Robtm de Clifford ſup dnõs Simonē Fraſer t Willm le Walleys apud Hopperewe de dono ipius Rſ ad unum equum ſibi emend ad feſtinant redeund cum tris Rſ dnis Johanni de Segrave t Johanni de Kingeſtoñ directis p m⁹ pprias apud Abdoure eodem die [xij° die Marcii] . . xl. s.

* * * * * p H. capelm.

* * * * * *

* * * * * *

Muſkelburgh } Johanni de Moſkelburgh ducenti dños Johem de Segrve Robtm de Clifford t alios magnates in comitiva eondem ad quan-

* From the original among the Additional MSS. in the British Museum, No. 8835, fol. 42.

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dam equitaturam ſup Simonē Fraſ Wiłłm le Waleys ⁊ alios Scotos inimicos Rꝰ in ꝑtibz de Laudian tunc exiſtentes aſſignat̃ de dono regis ꝑ manus ꝓprias apud Scm̃ Andr̃ xv die Marcii . . x. s̃.

Restaur̃ equoꝝ appciatoꝝ in guerra Scocie ꝑditoꝝ anno ꝑſenti xxxij°.

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Umframvilł } Thome de Umframvilł ꝑ reſtauro uniꝰ equi nigri liardi appciati ꝑ Wilło de Echewyk ſoc̃ ſuo ⁊ mortui apud fugam fcãm ſup Wilłm le Waleys ſ̃ctus Yrenſide menſe Septembr̃ anno ꝑs̃ .lx. s̃. unius equi ferrandi appciati ꝑ Rogᵒo de Wetwode ſoc̃ ſuo ⁊ ꝑditi ad eandam fugam ibidem eodem menſe x. mar̃ et uniꝰ ſomeri ſui badii redditi ad elemoſinam ap̃d Dunfermeł xxix° die Decembr̃ .xl. s̃. ꝑ comp̃ fcm̃ cũ eodem ap̃d Weſtm̃ x° die Aprił anno xxxiij° s̃mᵃ . . . xj. ł. xiij. s̃. iiij. đ.

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NUNCII.

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Walło Hakelutel ꝑ den̄ ꝑ ip̃m ſoluł ꝑ expn̄ quoꝝdā garcionū Scoc̃ miſſoꝝ ꝑ vices per ꝑcepł Rꝰ uſq; Caſtrū de Strivelyn ⁊ alibi inſidiandū dn̄is Simoni Fraſ ⁊ Wilło le Waleys ⁊ aliis inimicis R ꝑ mꝰ ꝓpias apud Villam Sc̃i Andr̃ xv° die Marc̃ . xx. s̃. viij. đ

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XXIV.

EXTRACT FROM THE PATENT ROLL

33 Edw. I., p. 2, m. 14 dorso.[p]

Rꝛ dilꝛtis ꝛ fid ſuis Rog'o le Brabazon Wilꝛo de Bereford Rog'o de Hegh'm ꝛ Petro Malore vel tribz eoꝝ ſalꝛtm. Cum nup injunx'im⁹ vob ꝑfate Rog'e le Brabazon quedam ardua negocia in civitate nra Londoñ ꝛ com̃ Kanꝛ Suſſex Surr ꝛ Midd pagenda ꝛ q̃d om̃es aſſiſas juratus ꝛ ꝛtificacões coram quibuſcũq; juſtic nris in com̃ ꝑdcis arramiatas vel arramiandas capetis ꝛ gaolas nras in eiſdem com̃ libaretis et poſtmod aſſocivim⁹ vob vos ꝑfati Wilꝛe Rog'e de Hegh'm ꝛ Petre ad ꝑmiſſa om̃ia ꝑfidienda. Nolentes negocia ꝑdca vel eoꝝ aliqua p abſenciam alic⁹ vrum retardari aliqualiꝛ ſeu diferri vob mandam⁹ q̃d ſi vos om̃es ad dies ꝛ loca quos ad ꝑmiſſa facienda ꝓvideretis vel impoſterũ ꝓvideretis ꝑſonaliꝛ inꝛeſſe vel ad hec intendere nõ poſſitis, tũc tres vrm nõ expectata ꝑſencia q'rti vrm abſentis, ad ea oia ꝛ ſingula facienda ꝓcedatis f'turi ꝛc ſalvis ꝛc ꝛ aliis ad nos inde ſpctantibz. Mand em vic nris civitatis ꝑdce ꝛ com̃ ꝑdcõꝝ q̃d vob õibz ꝛ tribz vrm quos inꝛeſſe contig'it in ꝑmiſſis ꝓeant ꝛ intendant ꝓut eis injungetis ex ꝓte nra. In cuj⁹ ꝛc T' Rꝛ apud Raureth, xviij die Auguſti p bre de p'vato ſigillo.

[p] We now come to the documents connected with the trial and execution of Wallace, a fuller notice of which will be found in the Preface.

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XXV.

PRIVY SEALS,
33 Edw. I.

Edward par la g^ce de Dieu roy Dengleꝑre ſeign^r Dirland ⁊ ducs Daquitaigne a nr̃e ch̃ clerkſ William de Hameltoñ nr̃e chaunceler ſalutz. Come no⁹ eons aſſetie noz feaux ⁊ leaux William de Bereford Rogier de Hegh^em ⁊ Pierres Malorre noz Juſtices a nr̃e feal ⁊ leal Rogier Brabazoun qui repſente nr̃e pſone a faire aukunes groſſes beſoignes dount no⁹ les avons charge en les contez de Kentſ Surr̃ Suſſex̃ Middleſex̃ ⁊ Loundres ⁊ as aſſiſes ⁊ atteintes prendre ⁊ a deliver toutes noz jaoles de meiſmes lez contez. Nous voillantz q̃ ſi touz quatre ni puiſſent entendre q̃ treis de eux qui pſentz ſrount noun pas attendantz la pſence du quart i attendent ⁊ voiſant avant a faire ⁊ fournir les choſes avant dites. vous mandoms q̃ vous de ce les facez aver noz ꝛres ſoutz nr̃e g^unt ſeal en due fourme. Doñ ſoutz nr̃e prive ſeal a Raureth le xviij. jour Daugſtſ. lan de nr̃e regne trentiſme tierz.

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XXVI.

PATENT ROLL,

33 Edw. I., p. 2, m. 14, d.

Rꝗ dilcis ⁊ fid ſuis Joñi de Segrve Petro Mallore Rado de Sandwico Joñi de Bacquell ⁊ Joñi le Blund majori civitatis ſue Londoñ ſalłm.

Sciatis q̃d conſtituim⁹ vos juſtiĉ nr̃os ad p'ſonā nr̃am civitatis nr̃e p̃dce de Willo le Waleys deliberandum juxta ordinaĉõem vob̃ p nos inde injunctam. Et ideo vob̃ mandam⁹ q̃d ad ĉtos diem ⁊ locū quos vos omnes q̃tuor vel tres vr̃m ad hoc p̃videritis.· p'ſonam p̃dcām de p̃dĉo Willo deliberetis in forma p̃dĉa. Et vos p̃fate Joñes de Segrve in cuj⁹ cuſtodia p̃fat⁹ Wills exiſtit de mandato nr̃o ſp̃ali ad p̃dcos diem ⁊ locū p̃fatū Willm ⁊ ejus attach̃ coram vob̃ ibidem venire facĉ. In cuj⁹ ⁊tĉ T' Rꝗ apud Raureth̃ xviij. die Aug⁹ſti

p br̃e de p'vato ſigillo.

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XXVII.

PRIVY SEALS,
33 Edw. I.

Edward par la g^ce de Dieu roy Dengleꝑre ſeign^r Dirland et ducs Daquitaigne.· a nre cher clerk^ſ William de Hameltoñ nre chauncellor ſaluz. Sachez q̃ nous avons aſſigne noz feaux t leaux Johan de Seg^ve Pierres Malorre Rauf^ſ de Sandwyz Johan de Bauquell t Johan le Blound nre meyr de Loundres ou quatre ou treis de eux qui ꝑſentz ꝑſrount noz juſtices a deliver nre jaole de la Tour de Loundres de William le Waleys ſelonc la ley t luſage de nre realme. E pur ce vous mandoms qas avantditz Johan Pierres Rauf^ſ Johan t Johan de ce facez aver noz lettres ſoutz nre g^unt ſeal en due fourme. Doñ ſoutz nre prive ſeal a Rauretħ. le .xviij. jour Daugſt^ſ lan de nre regne xxxiij.

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XXVIII.

ADDITIONAL MANUSCRIPT, 5444, fol. 138, C.[q]

Eodem anno xj.[r] Kalendas Septembris, dominus Willelmus Waleis, miles, ex natione Scotica natus, venit Londoñ, cui multitudo hominum ac mulierum ſibi obviavit, et hoſpitabatur in domibus Willelmi de Leyre, civis Londoñ, in parochia Omnium Sanctorum ad Fœnum.[s] In craſtino vero, qui dicitur dies Lunæ, in vigilia Sancti Bartholomæi, [Aug. 23] ductus fuit equitando apud Weſtmonaſterium; Johannes de Segrave et Galfridus de Segrave, milites, Major, vicecomites et Aldermanni Londoñ eum ſequentes ac ducentes, cum pluribus aliis eundo et equitando, et in Aula Magna Weſtmonaſterii ſuper ſcamnum auſtrale poſitus, ac cum foliis lauri coronatus, pro eo quod ipſe aſſeruit tempore præterito coronam in eadem aula portare deberet, ſic[t] vulgariter dicebatur. Statim ipſo vo-

[q] This exceedingly interesting narrative, embodying the legal proceedings (if they may be so styled) against Wallace, is taken from a manuscript, itself of modern date, but a transcript from one of the Cottonian MSS., which has subsequently been destroyed by the fire of 1731. That MS. was of considerable antiquity, and had belonged to some institution connected with the city of London, the successive officers of which had from time to time entered an account of those events which most attracted their attention. Hence we are here supplied with a contemporaneous account of the last, and perhaps the most interesting, period of the life of Wallace, his arrival in London, his treatment, the accusations brought against him, the grounds on which he met them, and the sentence which was pronounced by the agents of the English Justinian. That the compiler, whoever he was, had access to the best and most authentic information, is obvious, for a general inspection of his whole work, and, in this instance, by the introduction of the legal proceedings of the court by whom Wallace was condemned. Another copy, less perfect and correct than that above referred to, is contained in the Hargrave MS., 179, p. 292.

[r] Nono, MS. Harg. [s] Fenchurch Street. [t] Perhaps sic̃, that is, sicut.

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cato ad judicium, et per dominum Petrum Maluree, jufticiarium domini regis Angliæ, pro traditore ejufdem regis aggreffus, qui refpondit fe nunquam traditorem regis Angliæ fuiffe, fed alia crimina fibi impofita conceffit. Tandem dictus Petrus cum aliis jufticiariis decrevit judicium ferie qua fequitur.

Edwardus, Dei gratia rex Angliæ, dominus Hiberniæ, et dux Aquitaniæ, dilectis et fidelibus fuis Johanni de Segrave, Petro Maluree, Radulfo de Sandwyco, Johanni de Bacuelle, et Johanni le Blound, majori civitatis fuæ Londoñ, falutem.

Sciatis quod conftituimus vos Jufticiarios noftros ad prifonam noftram civitatis noftræ Londoñ de Willelmo le Waleis deliberandum, juxta ordinationem vobis per nos inde injunctam. Et ideo vobis mandamus quod ad certas diem[u] et locum, quos vos omnes, quatuor vel tres veftrum ad hoc provideritis, prifonam prædictam de prædicto Willelmo deliberetis in forma prædicta. Et vos præfatus Johs de Segrave, in cujus cuftodia præfatus Willelmus exiftit, de mandato noftro fpeciali ad prædictos diem et locum præfatum Willelmum et ejus attachiamentum coram vobis ibidem venire faciatis. In cujus rei teftimonium has litteras noftras fieri fecimus patentes.

Tefte meipfo apud Raurethe, xviij. die Augufti, anno regni noftri xxxiij.

Per breve de figillo privato.

Prætextu cujus brevis præfati Jufticiarii ad deliberationem prædictæ prifonæ de præfato Willelmo procefferunt in hunc modum.

Placita apud Weftmonafterium coram Johanne de Segrave, P. Maluree, R. de Sandwyco, Johanne de Bacwelle et J. le Blound Majore civitatis regis Londoñ, die lunæ in vigilia Sancti Bartholomæi, anno regni regis Edwardi, filii Henrici, xxxiij.

Willelmus Waleis Scotus et de Scotia ortus, captus pro feditione, ho-

[u] *Dies*, MS.

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micidiis, deprædacionibus, incendiis, et aliis diverſis feloniis, venit, et recitato per eoſdem juſticiarios qualiter, poſtquam prædictus dominus rex terram Scotiæ ſuper Johannem Baillol, prælatos, comites, barones et alios ejuſdem terræ inimicos ſuos, per foriſfacturam ipſius Johannis, hoſtiliter conquiſiviſſet, et conquæſtu illius omnes Scotos dominio et regiæ poteſtati ſuæ, ut eorum regi, ſubmiſiſſet et ſubjugaſſet, homagia et fidelitates prælatorum, comitum, baronum, et aliorum plurimorum publice recepiſſet, pacemque ſuam per totam terram Scotiæ proclamari feciſſet, Cuſtodes terræ illius, locum ſuum tenentes, vicecomites, præpoſitos, ballivos et alios miniſtros ſuos ad pacem ſuam manutenendam et juſtitiam quibuſcunque ſecundum leges et conſuetudines terræ illius faciendam, ordinaſſet et ſtatuiſſet, prædictus Willelmum le Waleys, fidelitatis et liganciæ ſuæ immemor, omnia quæ[v] poterat felonia ac ſeditione præcogitata in ipſum dominum regem, adunato ſibi et confœderato immenſo numero felonum, ſurrexit, et cuſtodes et miniſtros ipſius regis felonice invaſit et impugnavit, et Willelmum de Heſebregg,[w] vicecomitem de Lanarke, qui placita ipſius regis in pleno[x] comitatu [ ], felonice et contra pacem ipſius domini regis inſultavit, vulneravit et interfecit, et poſtea, in contemptum ipſius regis, ipſum vicecomitem ſic interfectum, fruſtratim dimicavit. Et ex tunc omni qua poterat multitudine armatorum ſibi et feloniæ ſuæ adhærentium adunata, villas, civitates, et caſtra terræ illius invaſit, et brevia ſua per totam Scotiam, tanquam brevia ſuperioris illius terræ, emanare fecit et demandavit, parliamenta et congregationes ſuas, omnibus cuſtodibus et miniſtris prædicti domini regis de terra Scotiæ per ipſum Willelmum dejectis, tenuit et aſſedit; nec tanta nequitia et ſeditione volens contineri, conſuluit omnibus prælatis, comitibus et baronibus terræ ſuæ parti ſuæ adhærentibus, quod fidelitati et dominio regis Franciæ ſe ſubjugarent, et ad deſtructionem regni Angliæ in auxilium inſiſterent. Quoſdam etiam de complicibus ſuis ſecum aſſumens, regnum Angliæ, ut in comitatibus Northumberland, Comberland, et Weſtmerland, ingredie-

[v] Omni qua (?)

[w] Such is the reading of the MS., but there is reason for believing that it is an error for "Heselregg." See, however, the extract from Fordun.

[x] The MS. reads "plano."

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batur, et omnes quos ibidem de fidelitate regis Angliæ invenit, diverſis mortis generibus felonice interfecit, viros religioſos et moniales Deo dicatos, et eccleſias ad honorem Dei et ſuorum ſanctorum conſtructas, una cum corporibus ſanctorum et aliis reliquiis eorum in eis honorifice collocatis, felonice et ſeditioſe mactavit, combuſſit et devaſtavit, nemini qui lingua Anglicana utebatur pepercit, ſed omnes ſenes cum juvenibus, ſponſas cum viduis, infantes cum lactantibus, graviore morte quam excogitare ſciverat afficiebat. Sicque ſingulis diebus et horis in machinationem mortis ipſius domini regis et in coronæ et regiæ majeſtatis ſuæ annullationem et enervationem manifeſtam, ſeditioſe et felonice perſeverebat. Et licet poſt tam enormia et horribilia facta prædictus dominus rex cum magno ſuo exercitu terram Scotiæ invaſiſſet, et prædictum Willelmum vexillum contra eum in bello mortali deferentem et alios inimicos ſuos diviciſſet, firmamque pacem ſuam omnibus de terra illa conceſſiſſet, et prædictum Willelmum le Waleis ad pacem ſuam miſericorditer revocari feciſſet, idem Willelmus in ſua prænotata nequitia ſeditioſe et felonice concorditer et animoſe perſeverans, paci prædicti domini regis ſe ſubmittere et ad eam evenire contempſit, et ſic in curia ipſius domini regis ut ſeductor, prædo et felo, ſecundum leges et conſuetudines Angliæ et Scotiæ, publice fuit utlagatus. Et injuſtum et legibus Anglicanis diſſonum exiſtat et creditur aliquem ſic utlagatum et extra leges poſitum, nec poſtea ad pacem ipſius reſtitutum, et[y] defenſionem ſtatus ſui ſeu reſponſionem admitti, —Conſideratum eſt quod prædictus Willelmus pro manifeſta ſeditione quam ipſi domino regi fecerat felonice machinando, in mortem ejus perpetrando, annulationem et enervationem coronæ et regiæ dignitatis ſuæ vexillum contra dominum ſuum ligium in bello mortali deferendo, detrahatur a palatio Weſtmonaſterii uſque Turrim Londoñ, et a Turri uſque Allegate, et ſic per medium civitatis uſque Elmes, et pro roberiis et homicidiis et feloniis, quas in regno Angliæ et terra Scotiæ fecit, ibidem ſuſpendatur et poſtea devaletur. Et quia utlagatus fuit, nec poſtea ad pacem domini regis reſtitutus, decolletur et decapitetur. Et poſtea pro immenſa vilitate, quam Deo et ſacroſanctæ eccleſiæ fecit comburendo

[y] *Ad* (?)

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ecclesias, vasa et feretra, in quibus corpus Christi et corpora sanctorum et reliquiæ eorundem collocabantur, cor, epar, et pulmo et omnia interiora ipsius Willelmi, a quibus tam perversæ cogitationes processerunt, in ignem mittantur et comburentur. Et etiam, quia non solum ipsi domino regi, sed toti plebi Angliæ et Scotiæ, prædicta seditionem, deprædationes, incendia, et homicidia et felonias fecerat, corpus illius Willelmi in quatuor quarteria scindatur et dividatur, et caput sic abscissum assedatur super pontem Londoñ, in conspectu tam per terram quam per aquam transeuntium, et unum quarterium suspendatur in gibetto apud Novum Castrum super Tynam, aliud quarterium apud Berewyk, tertium quarterium apud Stryvelyn, et quartum quarterium apud Villam Sancti Johannis, in metum et castigationem omnium prætereuntium et ea conspicientium, &c.

FINIS.

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INDEX

TO THE

WALLACE PAPERS.

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INDEX.

A.

Aberbrothoc, 21.
Aberdeen, 107.
Aberdoure, 179.
Alexander the Third, King of Scotland, 22, 29.
Allegate, in London, 192.
Allendale, 52.
Allirdale, 108, 137.
Alnwick, 51.
Alverdale, 35.
Amiens, 11.
Anagnia, 97.
Angus, Patrick, Earl of, 37, 60.
Annan, 55.
Annandale, 30, 34, 42, 44, 54, 55, 63.
Are, 34, 38, 45, 63.
Aree, the Island of, 63.
Arthur, King, 87.
Artois, the Earl of, 93.
Arundell, the Earl of, 56.
Arturhet, 30.
Athelstan, King of England, 96.
Athol, the Earl of, 4, 16, 147, 166.

B.

Bacquelle, John de, 185, 187, 190.
Badenaghe, the Earl of, 44, 96.
Badingtona, 159.
Baliol, John de, 1, 2, 4, 5, 12, 13, 15, 16, 18, 29, 53, 106, 113, 116, 142, 143, 144, 151, 191, &c.
———, the lands of, in Normandy, 113.
Barron, John de, 113.
Basset, Ralph, of Drayton, 62.
Becket, Thomas, 13, 81.
Bek, Anthony, Bishop of Durham, 37, 44, 57, 58, 60, 61, 112, 138.
Benedict IX., 97.
Bereford, William de, 181.
Berwick, 2, 3, 4, 9, 16, 23, 30, 31, 33, 35, 36, 38, 41, 42, 45, 46, 50, 56, 57, 58, 82, 109, 141, 142, 143, 151, 171, 193.
Beverley, 57, 64, 81.
Bigar, 117.
Biset, Baldred, 114, 115.
'Blakerode,' the, 171, 176, 177.
Blanch, Dame, 83.
Blund, John le, 185, 187, 190.
Bohun. See Boun.
Boniface VIII., 7, 12, 13, 90, 91, 94, 96, 97, 114, 115, 149.
Boun, Sir Humphrey, 93.

Digitized by Google

Brabazoun, Roger, 181.
Brandons, the, 112, 138.
Brechin, 21, 33.
Breouse, William de, 165.
Bretayne, John de, 165.
Brette, Sir Emeric le, 93.
Brihyn. See Brechin.
Brotherton, Thomas de, 86.
Bruce, Robert de, 42, 63, 87, 93, 111, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 138, 142, 144, 171, 175.
——, Edward, 126.
Brustwick, 100.
Bughan, John Earl of, 44.
Burnet, John, 159.
Bute, 138.

C.

Caithness, 96, 121.
Cambuskenneth, 34, 177.
Canterbury, 38, 84, 114.
Carlaverock, 86.
Carlisle, 30, 35, 42, 43, 51, 63, 85, 86, 91.
———, the Bishop of, 176.
Carrick, the Earl of. See Bruce.
Cawode, 86, 96.
Chapele, la Vere, (*i. e.* Falkirk,) 149.
Charles, brother of Philip the Fair, King of France, 6, 16, 145.
Chester, the Bishop of, 169.
Clifford, Robert de, 175, 179.
Clipston, 158.
Cockermouth, 36, 52.
Cofferer, Sir Ralph the, 94, 116.
Colonna, the family of, 96.
Comin, John, the younger, 4, 16, 17, 113, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 144.
——, John, 16, 166.
——, John, le Red, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127.
——, William, Bishop elect of St Andrews, 171, 173.
——, Robert, 127.
Comins, the, 111, 112, 138, 139.
Comfrey, Ralph. See Cofferer.
Coquetdale, 31.
Corbridge, 16, 31.
Cornwall, Richard de, 142.
Cottingham, 64.
Cressingham, Hugh, Treasurer of England, 7, 34, 35, 41, 42, 48, 49, 106, 135, 136, 145.
Cumberland, 35, 44, 48, 52, 191.
Cuthbert, St, 52, 109.

D.

David, Prince of Wales, 6.
Depplyn, Sir William de, 99.
Derwent, 36, 52.
Despenser, Hugh le, 17, 142, 143 165.
Douglas, William, 42, 45, 46, 142.
Dover, 12, 84.
Drilton, 58.
Dumfries, 126, 127.
Dunbar, 4, 17, 23, 32, 116, 142, 143, 151.
———, the Earl of, 5, 32, 33, 142.
Dundee, 106, 107, 135, 161.
Dunfermlin, 21, 96, 98, 119, 180.
Dunkeld, William, Bishop of, 16.
Durham, Bishop of. See Bek, Anthony.
———, 52, 54, 63, 81.

Digitized by Google

E.

ECHEWYK, William de, 80.
Edene, the bridge of, 30.
Edinburgh, 16, 59, 60.
Edward the First, King of England, 1, 2, 3, 5, 6, 7, 8, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, &c.
Edward, Prince of Wales, 19, 35, 119, 121.
Egleshame, William, 114.
Elmes, the, near London, 192.
Erwyn. See Irving.
Estrivelyn. See Sterling.

F.

FALKIRK, 9, 19, 27, 37, 60, 61, 82, 111, 113, 115, 137, 152, 153.
Fife, 115.
——, Macduff, Earl of, 112, 138.
Flanders, 16, 36, 44, 57, 92, 144, 145, 146, 152, 176.
————, the Earl of, 6, 33, 144.
Forth, the, 106, 113, 116, 136, 139.
'Fowechapele,' (*i. e.* Falkirk,) 149.
Frasere, Simon, 94, 96, 98, 116, 117, 118, 142, 166, 179, 180.
Frere, John, 159.
Freselle. See Fraser.

G.

GALEWAY, the Isle of, 18.
Galloway, 34, 42, 45, 54, 63, 82, 121, 176.
Gascony, 37, 57, 144, 147, 149.
Gaweye. See Galloway.
Geay. See Jay.
Gedewort. See Jedburgh.
Glasgow, the Bishop of, 43, 45, 46, 99, 115, 166, 167.
Glasgow, 128.
Glen, John de, 176.
Gloucester, the Earl of, 55, 58, 124, 165.
Graham, David de, 166.
———, Patrick de, 17, 143.
Greshincham. See Cressingham.
Gurdone, Adam de, 169.

H.

HAKELUTEL, Walter, 180.
Hamburg, 159.
Hamelton, William de, Chancellor of Scotland, 181, 187.
Hastings, Sir John, 93.
Hegham, Roger de, 181.
Hereford, the Earl of, 56, 58, 61, 63, 83.
Hesebregg, William de, 191.
Heslope, William de, 104, 133.
Hexham, 16, 32, 52, 53, 142.
Holmcultram, 176.
————, the Abbot of, 176.
Hopperewe, 179.
Hulcestere, the Earl of. See Ulster.

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I.

INGELDWDE, (Ingelwood,) the forest of, 35, 52.
Ireland, 63.
Ironside, 180.
Irving, 45, 47, 176.

J.

JAY, Brian de, 19, 38, 62, 83, 146, 149.
Jedburgh, 31.
Johanna, niece of Philip, King of France, 16.

K.

KELSO, 36, 56.
Ketingham, 17.
Kingston, John de, 179.
Kirkpatrick, Gilpatrick de, 126, 127.
Kokedale. See Coquetdale.
Kokermouth. See Cockermouth.

L.

LACY, Henry de, Earl of Lincoln. See Lincoln.
Lamberton, William, Bishop of St Andrews, 15, 145, 171, 172, 173.
Lameley, 32.
Lanark, 132, 133.
———, the Sheriff of. See Heslope.
Lancaster, 48.
———, the Earl of, 141, 165.
Lanercost, 32, 142.
Latymer, William Lord, 145, 179.
Lennox, the Earl of, 35, 46, 50.
Leoninus, Prince of Wales, 6.
Leyre, William de, 189.
Lincoln, 87.
———, the Earl of, 58, 61, 141, 165.
Lindesay, James de, 126, 127.
Linlithgow, 37, 60, 61, 64, 91, 115.
Loghmaban, 34, 38, 44, 126.
Lothian, 130.
———, William, Archdeacon of, 114.
Lubeck, 159.
Lundy, Richard, 45, 47.
Lydel, William, 176.
Lyndeseye, Alexander de, 166.

M.

MADDOC, Prince of Wales, 151.
Maille, Thomas, 21.
Malorre, Peter de, 181, 185, 189, 190.
Man, Maurice, Bishop of, 114.

Digitized by Google

March, Earl of. See Dunbar.
Marche, the, 84, 85, 91, 126.
Margaret, second wife of Edward the First, King of England, 83, 84, 86, 114.
Marmeduche, John, 58, 59.
Marshall, the Earl, 56, 58, 61, 63, 83, 86, 87.
Martyn, William, 165.
Mary, daughter of King Edward the First, 169.
Maulay, Peter de, 165.
Meneteth, J. de, 101, 128, 169.
Menetethe, the Earl of, 4, 16, 17.
Moncref, William de, 16.
———, Ralph de, 16.
Moravia. See Murray.
Moskelburgh, John de, 179.
Mouncy, Peter de, 113.
Mullersnook, 121.
Murray, 33.
———, Andrew de, 53, 106, 159.
———, William, 4.

N.

Netilham, 87.
Neville, Sir Thomas de, 94.
Newcastle, 15, 30, 35, 36, 51, 54, 56, 107, 109, 193.
'Neythe,' the Cross so called, 171, 176, 177.
Nicole. See Lincoln.
Nicholai, foresta de, 32.
Northumberland, 9, 18, 35, 51, 105, 107, 109, 145, 149, 191.
Norwich, the Bishop of, 13.

O.

Olifard, William, 21, 22, 26, 99, 114, 121.
Ormysby, William, the King's Justiciary, 41.
Oysel, Nicholas, 179.

P.

Palestine, 6.
Percy, Henry de, 34, 44, 48, 56, 142, 145, 165, 175.
Perth, 18, 33, 38, 63, 115, 119, 193.
Philip the Fair, King of France, 1, 11, 12, 13, 19, 31, 81, 84, 87, 90, 92, 94, 113, 114, 144, 146, 163.

R.

Raureth, 181, 185, 187, 189, 190.
Redesdale, 31.
Renaud, ... , 169.
Richard, brother of the Earl of Cornwall, 3.
Rishanger, William de, 155.]
Ros, the Earl of, 16.
Roos, Margaret, daughter of Robert de, 157, 158.
——, Robert de, 141, 142, 157, 158.
Roslin, 113, 115, 116, 117, 118.
Rothbury, 35, 51.
Roxborough, 16, 36, 37, 38, 46, 56, 57, 176.
Ruddeby, 49.

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S.

SABAUDIA. See Savoy.
Salveyn, Gerard, 158.
Sandwich, Ralph de, 185, 187, 190.
Savoy, the Earl of, 119.
Sayncler, William, 4, 16, 17.
Scameschinel. See Cambuskenneth.
Schort, Jack, 101.
Scone, 29, 42.
Scotland, the Regalia of, 13.
Segrave, John Lord, 56, 64, 86, 93, 165, 166, 179, 185, 187, 189.
———, Geoffrey de, 189.
Selkirk, 32, 37, 38, 62, 63.
Seneschal. See Stewart.
Sicily, 97.
Sinclair. See Sayncler.
Siward. See Syward.
Skirmischur, Alexander, 161.
Sodor, Bishop of. See Man.
Solway, 30, 54.
Stratherne, the Earl of. See Comin.
Suelwath. See Solway.
Soules, John de, 16, 21, 22, 113, 114, 166.
Stamford, 64.
Stanmore, 109.
St Albans, Abbot of, 13.
St Andrews, 18, 38, 43, 44, 63, 98, 120, 180.
————, William, Bishop of. See Lamberton.
Stapleton, Miles de, 189.
St Edmunds, 18.
Stewart of Scotland, the, 35, 43, 45, 46, 50, 62, 112, 138, 166.
Sterling, 6, 7, 12, 18, 22, 47, 48, 50, 98, 100, 106, 114, 120, 121, 136, 145, 146, 147, 165, 180, 193.
Stryvelyn. See Sterling.
Sules. See Soules.
Sumerville, John de, 17.
Syward, Richard, 16, 142, 143.

T.

TEMPELLYSTON, 37, 58, 60.
Temple, the Master of the. See Jay, Brian de.
Thewenge, Marmaduke, 35, 48, 49, 50.
Tinmouth, 64.
Tomtabard, John, (a name of contempt applied by the Scots to John Baliol,) 144.
Torpheichyn, 162.
Trailbaston, 100, 101, 124.
Tyne, the, 31, 54.
Tynedale, 142.

U.

ULSTER, the Earl of, 94, 165, 179.
Umfreville, Ingelram de, 16, 142, 166.
Umfreville, Thomas de, 180.

V.

VALENCE, Eymer de, 121, 165.
Varia Capella. See Falkirk.
Vescy, William, Lord, 141.

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W.

WAKE, John, 56.
Wales, 57, 91, 147, 151.
Wallace, Andrew, elder brother to Sir William Wallace, 104.
———, John, brother to Sir William Wallace, 147.
———, SIR WILLIAM, *passim*.
Wark upon Tweed, 141, 157.
Warren, the Earl of, 5, 7, 13, 17, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 41, 44, 45, 46, 47, 50, 55, 56, 58, 100, 142, 145, 165.
Warwick, the Earl of, 17, 165.
Warwick, Guy, son of the Earl of, 56.
Welsh, the, 10, 11, 57, 58, 59.
Westminster, 15, 18, 192.
Westmoreland, 149.
Wetwode, Roger de, 180.
Weyk, in Caithness, 121.
Winchelsea, Robert de, Archbishop of Canterbury, 84, 146.
Wishart, Robert, Bishop of Glasgow, 175.
Worcester, the Bishop of, 169.
Woxbragge, 142.

Y.

YORK, 18, 36, 55, 57, 81.
Yorkshire, 44, 50.
Yrenside. See Ironside.

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